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## صِبْغَةَ ٱللَّهِ

## "THE BAPTISM OF GOD."

'Idiosyncrasy' means, literally, 'what is mixed up in oneself,' though it has by usage come to suggest rather the things that are peculiar and odd. The word may perhaps afford a useful point of departure into one of the most difficult of Quranic expressions in a passage which well illustrates how exacting to the translator the Qurʾān's Arabic can be. The context has to do with the claim of Muslims that they believe in earlier revelation but that in so far as Jews and Christians now differ from the Islamic they are in the wrong. Then it continues: صِبْغَةَ اللهِ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ مِنَ اللهِ صِبْغَةً And the rendering? That is where the problem lies.

The word *Ṣibghah* is in the accusative case but has no verb governing it, unless we assume the power of the verb in the previous sentence. The *Ṣibghah,* plainly, belongs to God. There follows the exclamatory question making clear that there is no one better in this act or art than God. The primary meaning of the root word *Ṣabagha* is to alter a thing so that its essential character is transformed, as when a black coal glows with fire, a shock of hair turns white or a garment is dipped and dyed.

This last realm of thought seems to have taken largest possession of the root, so that the verb comes to refer to immersion in water for dyeing and so immersion in water for baptising. It thus develops further into the sense of introducing another into a religious community through some initial rite. But always there persists this sense of change within the one identity, change whereby what a thing is becomes the basis for what, outside of itself, it is made to

become. The word may be employed when people alter a conversation by introducing a new theme. Converse goes on and is yet transformed. Yet again the word is used for that kind of immersion in a pursuit, a science or an art, by which the person becomes readily identifiable, as the book-worm is, or the habitual salesman. Their arts or naïvetes advertize their customary trade even when they are not pursuing it. All these are occasions of *Ṣibghah.* To apprehend the significance of the word it seems well to hold on to the two implicit ideas of an essential transformation within the same identity, as when the stuff of a dyed garment is infused with a new being.

Can we take these clues into an effective translation of the import of Surah ii. 138, where alone in the Qurʾān the phrase is found? To try at least is our meditative aim. The familiar translators do not help us greatly. Pickthall has: "(We take our) colour from Allah, and who is better than Allah at colouring"—a rendering which leaves the mystery of the passage unsolved. Sale, Muḥammad ʿAlī and Arberry have "the baptism of God," with the question: "Who is better than God at baptising?" or essentially the same words. Sale adds the interesting footnote: "By baptism is to be understood the religion which God instituted at the beginning: because the signs of it appear in the person who professes it, as the signs of water appear in the clothes of him that is baptised." Rodwell prefaces the phrase in question with the words: "Islam is the baptism of God;" thus, apparently, ignoring the significance of the accusative case. The new Qadiani version has: "(Say, we will adopt) the religion of Allah and who is better than Allah in teaching religion?" This last sense of the religion of God is upheld by several older commentators, including Al-Baiḍāwī and Al-Zamakhsharī.

But the thought of God baptizing or teaching, however it be taken, necessarily means and involves the particular agency, the human community, or the chosen Prophet. These need to be validated as the locus or point of the Divine activity. We

are thus driven back to the moral and spiritual quality and power of given religious faith and revelation, through which the Divine may be known to be at work. So perhaps the passage, in its most ultimate or potential sense, means that there is a Divine activity both of truth and love operative in men's history and men's souls, and that by virtue of this activity the human personality may discover a new nature and find a new meaning. These will be achieved by the grace of God within the material, or stuff, of human personality, but will, within that selfhood, accomplish a transformation into the Divine nature. Is not this, in the final sense, "the baptism of God" and who, in this blessed re-creating of the soul, is better than God? Indeed, there is none save He.

Are we not, then, in this understanding of *Ṣibghat-Allāh,* very near the witness of the New Testament? For does not the Christian Gospel proclaim how God in Christ, by His Holy Spirit, re-makes men into newness of life? This regeneration is not the obliteration of personality. On the contrary. Our trouble is not selfhood but selfishness. When the latter is redeemed, the former learns its true destiny. Our 'idiosyncrasy,' so to speak—all that in its diversity is mingled in our make-up, gifts, talents, impulses, powers, faculties, relationships—is taken up into the Divine grace, purged, cleansed, redeemed, suffused with the powers of the Kingdom of God. So a man is no longer his own, in the sense of pride and sin, but 'his own' has become the raw material of a Divine, redemptive deed and a Divine regenerative power and is given back to him, in newness of life. "Power to become the sons of God" says the New Testament, avails by faith for those who open their being to its conditions. The result in their souls is a "new birth unto righteousness." "As many of us," writes St Paul to the Galatians, "as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ." (Gal. iii. 27) Or to vary the figure, and borrow Browning's:

> "God, stooping, shows sufficient of His light,
> For us in the dark to rise by:
> And I rise."

As we do so, responsively to His grace, the darkness passes, like the former fashion of the dyed garment. But it is 'I' who rise. Matthew the disciple was still the old person, but not the publican-Matthew he had once been. Paul was, to the end, the man who had sat at the feet of Gamaliel, yet no longer the old Saul. So it is with all the men of God. The 'idiosyncrasy' of their individual making as persons remains, but is taken up into the new context of grace, of forgiveness, self-forgetfulness and new intent. Where else is there such a power save in the love of God? The Christian strives to witness to its availability in Christ and to multiply its blessed impact in the affairs of the world, through the souls it transforms. For, whatever it may be our duty to strive after in the social order and in the realms of politics and law, it is finally in realm of the person, his wrongness of will and his remaking, that the clue to the world's ills and the world's hope, is to be found. And when we think of men, as Surah ii. 137 declares, "God will suffice us for them." It is in Him alone that our hope of serving men's need is realized.

"It is through this baptism," writes Muḥammad ʿAlī in his commentary, "that the new birth is received." His meaning doubtless diverges here from ours. But at least it is clear that God's Kingdom is personal, because it is in our hearts: that it is revolutionary, because it demands a radical transformation: that it is merciful, because it takes us as we are and makes all our potentialities its ground: that it is of grace, because, while it is *in, of* and *through* us, it can only be *from* God. How eloquent it is to find here in the Qurʾān a passage which allows us to think of the transformation of men under the parable of a cloth that, introduced to a new element, not of its own making, yields itself up to it completely and finds a new likeness! How moving to link this picture with an ancient river where John came baptizing and men found a new identity through their identification with his witness and with the Christ whom he heralded!

# THE ARAB KINGDOM OF GHASSĀN: ITS ORIGINS, RISE AND FALL*

## INTRODUCTION

The history of the Kingdom of Ghassān is obscure, having been given little consideration in the annals of Arabic and non-Arabic sources. What inscriptions have been found in Syria and Southern Arabia, the scene of our study, are unfortunately, of a much earlier period.

To some extent, however, conclusions can be reached as to the origins, extent and influence of the Kingdom of Ghassān, as it existed for a century and a half prior to the rise of Islam, from contemporary Byzantine and Syriac sources and from later Arabic sources.

In the Byzantine and Syriac chronicles and ecclesiastical works, references are made to this Arab Christian Kingdom only when there is mention of the Byzantine Empire or its contemporary in the East, the Sassānid Empire (226-651 A.D.). The value of the material in these non-Arabic sources, therefore, is to be measured by the facts, revealed in them about the Arabs of the pre-Islamic period, which appear nowhere in Arabic sources and which, unlike Arabic material, are dated, thus establishing the chronology of some outstanding events mentioned, but left undated, in Arabic sources.

For our purpose, the non-Arabic sources may be divided chronologically into three groups. [1] The first group, which includes Socrates and Malchus, deals with the early part of the 4th century A.D. In their extensive writings about the Byzantine church and empire, these two historians give us our first, though fleeting, glimpse of the Arabs. Joshua the Stylite, Zachariah of Mitylene, Theophanes and Evagrius, comprising the second group, devote valuable paragraphs to the Arabs, particularly the Ghassānids and their relationship to Byzantium.

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* This is a condensation of an extensive study available in manuscript form. I am deeply indebted to Professor Arthur Jeffery of Columbia University for making available in English the Syriac and Byzantine excerpts without which this study would have been incomplete.

[1] *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates,* Trans. by A.C. Zenos (New York: 1890); *Malchus Malchi Philadelphensis Fragmenta,* FHG IV. (Dindorf); Joshua the Stylite, *The Chronicle,* edited by W. Wright (Cambridge University Press: 1882); *Zachariah of Mitylene,* Trans. by F. J. Hamilton (London. 1899); Theophanes, *Chronographia,* recenuit, Carolus De Boor (Lipsiae: 1883); Evagrius, *Scholasticus Historia Ecclesiastica,* edited by Bidez (1898); Malalas, Ioanis Malalae *Chronographia,* L. Dindorfii (Bonnae. 1831); Procopius, *History of the Wars,* Trans. by H.B. Dewing 6 Vols. (London: MCMXIV); Menander, *Menandri Protectoris Exerpta,* FHG; John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History,* Trans. by R. Payne Smith, (Oxford: 1860); Theophytacti Simocattae, *Historiae,* edited by Carolus De Boor (Lipsae: 1887); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronographia,* Trans. by Ernest Wallis Budge, (Oxford University Press).

The last and most important group consists of Malalas, Procopius, Menander the Protector, John Ephesus and Theophylact, who relate the events of the 6th century. It is apparent from these sources that it was in this period that Ghassān began to play an important role in the campaigns of Byzantium against its traditional rival, the Sassānid Empire. It is only because of this role that we are favored with detailed descriptions of the Kingdom of Ghassān. It is the words of these historians that make the Ghassānid kings living characters on the stage of Arab history and no longer vague figures in a legend.

References to the Kingdom of Ghassān and its kings in Arabic sources are to be found mostly in the following groups,[2] first in the poems of the pre-Islamic poets, and secondly in the legends and traditions found in the literary and historical Arabic works.

A short analysis of the factors that influenced the historians of Islam early in the Islamic period is necessary at this juncture. These factors fall under three main headings; the tribal, the religious and the political. The tribal factor was as important in the life of the Arabs as the religion of Islam itself. The Arabs are a conglomeration of tribes that exerted a strong influence in politics both before and after Islam. They were divided, in general, into two main tribal divisions; the North Arabians, belonging to the Qais tribe, and the South Arabians, belonging

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[2] *Pre-Islamic Arab Poetry*: *The Dīvāns of the six ancient Arabic poets,* edited by W. Ahlwardt, (London: 1870); Al-Barqūqī, ᶜAbdul Raḥmān, *Sharḥ Dīwān Ḥassān ibn Thābit,* (Cairo, Raḥmāniyya Press: 1929); Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Shiᶜr wa-l-Shuᶜrāᵓ,* edited by Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī (Cairo: 1323 A.H.); Cheikho, Louis, *Kitāb Shuᶜarāᵓ al-Naṣrāniyyah,* 2 Vols. (Beirut, Jesuit Press: 1890); Nabīghah Dhubyānī, *Le Dīwān de Nabiga,* edited by M. Hartwig, (Paris MDCCCXIX); *Al-Muᶜallaqāt,* edited by Ann and Wilfrid S. Blunt (London: 1903); *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt,* edited by C. J. Lyall, 3 Vols. (Oxford and Leyden: 1921-4).

*Arabic Historical Work:* Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales,* edited by M. J. Gooje, 15 Vols. (Leyden: 1879-1901); Abū Faraj al Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī,* edited by J. de Goeje, 20 Vols. (Cairo, Bulāq edition: 1285 A.H.); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām,* edited by Aḥmad Zakī (Cairo: 1914) Yāqūt, *Jacut's Geographishes Worterbuch,* edited by F. Wüstenfeld, 6 Vols. (Leipzig: 1866-73); Al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj al Dhahab,* 2 Vols. (Cairo: 1303 A.H.); Ibn Qutayba, *Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte.* edited by F. Wüstenfeld (Gottingen. 1850); Al-Yaᶜqūbī, *Historiae,* edited by M. Th. Houtsma 2 Vols (Lugd. Bat 1883); Al-Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* edited by J. De Goeje (Leyden: 1866); Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Tarīkh Mulūk al-Arḍ wa-l-Anbiyāᵓ,* edited by I. M. E. Gottwaldt, (Berlin, Second Edition: 1921); Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī-al-Tarīkh,* edited by C. J. Tornberg, 13 Vols. (Leyden: 1867-74); Abūl-l-Fidāᵓ, *Tarīkh al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar,* 4 Vols. (Constantinople: 1286); Ibn Khaldūn, ᶜAbdul Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-ᶜIbār,* 7 Vols. (Cairo: 1284 A.H.); Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtikāk,* edited by F. Wüstenfeld, (Gottingen: 1854); Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh,* edited by F. Wüstenfeld, 2 Vols. (Göttingen: 1858-60); ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *al ᶜIqd al-Farīd,* 3 Vols. (Cairo, Al-Azhar edition; 1928); Al-Istakhrī, *Masālik al-Mamālik,* edited by J. de Goeje (Leyden: 1870); Al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-Buldān.* edited by J. de Goeje, (Leyden: 1892); Al-Wāqidī, *Futūḥ al-Shām,* edited by Von Kremer, 2 Vols. (Calcutta: 1856); Al-Jāḥīz, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo: 1906); Al-Abshahī, *Al-Mustaṭrif,* (Cairo: 1272 A.H.); Al-Azraqī, *Kitāb Akhbār Mecca,* edited by F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig: 1858).

to the Yaman. This division persisted throughout Muslim history and was the cause of many political conflicts directly contributing to the downfall of many dynasties and states in the Islamic Empire.

As the majority of the Arab historians were of North Arabian origin and Ghassān was of South Arabian origin, it is very probable that these historians were not free from this tribal prejudice and minimized the influence and extent of Ghassān.

Religion, after the rise of Islam, exerted a tremendous influence on every facet of Arab life and the writing of history was vitally affected by it. Muslim writers considered the period prior to the rise of Islam as *Ayyām al Jāhiliyyah* (the Days of Ignorance) and, therefore, not worthy of being recounted at length.

When we remember that Islam was at war with the Byzantine Empire, and that Ghassān was a vassal of that Empire, it seems likely that it was not so much because the Ghassānids were involved in "ignorance" that Islamic historians attempted to relegate them to virtual oblivion, but rather because of their eagerness to emphasize the religious influence of Islam on their conquests and to minimize Christianity — a temptation to which any strongly religious movement is susceptible. Thus again Ghassān suffered at the hands of Muslim historians, not only because of its Christianity, but also because of its having been a vassal of Byzantium.

With the consolidation of the Muslim conquests, and the establishment of a responsible political institution Al-*Khilāfah,* the writing of history became an important element in the intellectual life of the empire. Upon the establishment of the Islamic state, rulers, realizing the importance of historians and their judgment on their achievements, commissioned them to write about their dynasties with special emphasis on Islamic achievements. The political and military happenings of that period provided prolific material for the historians. Islamic society having progressed in the fields of art, philosophy and science, these subjects absorbed the attention and energies of other writers.

It is not surprising, therefore, that with such an abundance of material from which to draw, early Muslim writers alluded to Ghassān fleetingly as though too insignificant by comparison with contemporary events to warrant much attention.

## THE ORIGINS OF GHASSĀN

The first mention of the Kingdom of Ghassān by Arab historians as an existing political entity, and with some description of its religion, its rulers and its geographic confines, was during the Muslim period in the early 7th century A.D. [3] In this early period we find the name

[3] Hamza, *op. cit.,* p 81; cf Ibn Durayd, *op. cit.,* I: 259; cf. Ibn Qutayba, p. 316. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.,* I. 281.

Ghassān closely associated with its last king, Jabala ibn al-Ayham (ruled 614-635 A.D.). In fact, to relate the story of this king, his reign and activities, is to relate the last days of Ghassān.

From these Arabic sources we learn that Ghassān was a Christian Arab Kingdom situated in the southern part of Syria in the Ḥaurān district and a vassal of the Byzantine Empire. It may be that the close association of this last Ghassānid king with the outstanding personalities of early Islam was what compelled Muslim historians to take what notice they did of his kingdom. It would have been almost impossible to record that part of Muslim history in which Jabala is involved and ignore Ghassān. It is needless to point out that Ghassān had everything in common with the Muslim conquerors, culturally, socially and economically. Only religion was different.

The Arab historians trace the origins of the Kingdom of Ghassān to tribes migrating from South Arabia, north to Syria and Mesopotamia. They date this migration as early as one of the breaks of Sadd Maᶜrib (Maᶜrib Dam). This dam, which was built in several stages, the earliest in the latter part of the first Saba'en period (950-650 B.C.), suffered several breaks prior to its final destruction between 542 and 570 A.D. The remnants, situated about sixty miles east of Ṣanāᶜ, present-day capital of the Yaman, can still be seen.

Al-Iṣfahānī, [4] however, establishes the migration of the Ghassānids from South Arabia at four hundred years prior to Islam, while Yāqūt [5] dates it during the reign of the Abyssinians, in the middle of the 5th century A.D.

Some Arab historians go as far as to give the destruction of the dam as the main reason for the migration. Al-Balādhūrī [6] repeats an Arab legend to the effect that the dam was destroyed by rats gnawing into its wall until it was destroyed. The process of disintegration must have been going on for a considerable period and may be attributed to a combination of causes; the gnawing of rats, the several Abyssinian invasions, and neglect due to worsening economic conditions. This final, economic factor is seldom considered by Arab historians, though it is highly probable that the destruction of the Maᶜrib Dam was one important circumstance in causing the migration of the Ghassānid and other tribes from Southern Arabia.

In order to arrive at the proper conclusion, the economic conditions of pre-Islamic Arabia must be examined and taken into consideration. In the first few centuries of the Christian era the Yaman was referred to as "Arabia Felix" in the annals of early Roman history. It was one of the established centers of ancient world trade. One of the trade routes linking East and West was along the western shores of the Arabian Peninsula. The farthest point in the South was the Yaman,

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[4] Al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, XIV: 77, 126.
[5] *Yāqūt, op. cit.*, IV: 383.
[6] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, P. 15.

and the northernmost point was at Asqalān (near present-day Ghazzah) in Palestine, from whence the Roman traders carried their goods to the West. At the time only the Arabs of the Yaman knew the secrets of the sea trade with the East. It was not until the discovery by the Romans of the Red Sea route to the East that the Arabs of the Yaman lost their wealth and prestige.

A description of the wealth and prosperity of South Arabia is vividly given in the "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" [7], written in the first century of the Christian era. South Arabia was pictured by Roman and Greek writers as the country of gold mines and oriental products [8]. When its monopoly of sea trade ceased to exist, "Arabia Felix" was no longer happy. It was no longer able to support all the tribes living there, making it necessary for some of them to seek new avenues of livelihood. Migration to north and north-east Arabia was the only course they could take. This was the natural outlet for the overflow of Arab tribes. The process of mass migration of Arab tribes had been going on since time immemorial.

Having no dates in Arabic sources for the appearance of the Ghassānids on the Syrian scene, we shall attempt to arrive at one by another method. A study of the Arabic sources [9] reveals that the Salīḥ tribe, referred to as the "Dajāʿima," named after one of their chiefs Dajʿam was in control of the Southern part of Syria under Byzantine tutelage, when they arrived. In Al-Yaʿqūbī's words: "When the Ghassānids came to Syria, they encamped on the Balqāʾ lands which belonged to the Salīḥ tribe of whom they asked permission to stay." [10] Al-Yaʿqūbī goes on to say: "The head of the Salīḥ tribe, Dahmān ibn al Amlaq, wrote for permission to the Emperor of the Romans whose name at the time was Nosher, whose seat of government was at Antioch." Hamza [11] corroborates this story and adds that Emperor Nosher accepted the Ghassānids on condition that they acknowledge his sovereignty and pay tribute to him.

If we are to accept the Arabic name of Nosher as an abbreviation of Anastasius, the Byzantine Emperor who ruled from 491-518 A.D., as Nöldeke [12] believes, that would mean the Ghassānids must have made their appearance in Syria sometime between the latter part of the

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[7] Translated by W. H. Schoff (New York: 1912)

[8] Gibbon, Edward, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* edited by J. B. Bury (London: 1898).

[9] Ibn Qutayba, *op. cit.,* P. 313. cf. Hamza, *op. cit.,* P 76. cf. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* I: 206. cf. Abū Fidāʾ, *op. cit.,* I: 128. *cf.* Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.,* I: 279-280.

[10] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.,* I: 233-4. The Balqāʾ lands are identified by Yāqūt (Vol. I P. 728) as one of the districts of Syria lying South of Damascus.

[11] Hamza, *op. cit.,* P. 77.

[12] Noldēke, Theodore, *The Princes of Ghassān from the House of Gafna.* Translated into Arabic by Pendali Jouse and Costi Zurayk (Beirut, Catholic Press. 1933) p. 8.

5th or the beginning of the 6th centuries A.D., which date would compare favorably with non-Arabic sources as we shall see later.

Among the early Greek writers who made some mention of the Arabs was Socrates (born about 379 A.D.). In his "Church History," [13] we find the first mention of Arab forces fighting with their Persian allies against the Roman (Byzantine) forces. The Arab forces referred to were the Lakhmids [14] of Al-Ḥīrā in Mesopotamia who migrated from the Yaman at the same time and played a part with the Sassānids, similar to that of the Ghassānids with the Romans. In writing of the conditions in 473 during the reign of Leo the Great (457-74 A.D.) Malchi relates: "The Persians and the Byzantine had made an agreement when the terrible war broke out between them in the days of Theodosius (ruled 408-45 A.D.), that neither of the parties to the agreement would accept the Saracens if any of them should attempt to stir a revolt" [15].

The ecclesiastical writer, Evagrius, makes special mention of the Arabs whom he calls "Scenite Barbarians." Writing of the year 474 A.D. during the reign of Zeno (ruled 474-491) he says: "Both in the East and in the West the Empire was greatly distressed, in the one quarter by the general devastation caused by the Scenite barbarians, and in Thrace by the inroads of the Huns". [16]

Speaking of the year 490 A.D., Theophanis, in his Chronographia, relates: "The general, Romanus, who was chief of the forces in Palestine, being a man who excelled both in counsel and military discipline, took prisoner of war, Ogaros, son of Arethas, known as the son of the Thaʿlabite woman, along with a great number of captives." We are told also that prior to the battle "Romanus subdued and put to flight another Scenite by the name of Jabala, who had been overrunning all of Palestine before his appearing." [17]

The names mentioned by Theophanis, however, are quite certainly Ghassānid names, for both Al-Ḥārith (Arethas) and Jabala were names of outstanding kings of Ghassān, although according to Arabic sources they made their appearance later in Ghassānid history. We do believe, however, that the Thaʿlabite woman referred to is none other than Thaʿlaba, son of Amru bin ʿAmir or one of his descendants. The feminine ending of this name could quite possibly have misled the

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[13] Socrates, *op. cit.*,

[14] For the history of The Kingdom of Lakham mentioned in the Arabic sources see the following: Ibn Qutayba, *op. cit.*, pp 316-320. cf. Al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, I: 194-205. cf. Abūl-Fidāʾ *op. cit.*, I: 120-132. cf. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.*, I: 236-246. cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I: 287-88, 292-3, 352-58, 404-5, 408-11. cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, II: 263-273. cf. Hamza, *op. cit.*, pp 63-77. See also: Ghanīma, Yussef Rizqallah, *al-Ḥīrā, the City and the Arab Kingdom*, (Baghdad Dankour Press: 1936).

[15] Malchi, *op. cit.*, F.H.G. IV, pp 115-116.

[16] Evagrius, *op. cit.*, Book III Cap 2.

[17] Theophanis, *op. cit.*, P. 141.

Greek author into thinking him the son of a woman by the name of Thaᶜlaba.

We are, therefore, inclined to believe that the Ghassānids made their appearance on the borders of the Byzantine Empire around 400 A.D. and that before they settled in Ḥauran, the Southern district in Syria and were formally recognized by the Byzantine Empire, they made themselves very well known to that Empire by their numerous incursions and by the "general devastation" they caused in various parts of the Empire.

In the Byzantine and Syriac sources we find many references to the "Greeks Arabs" and the "Arabs of Mesopotamia." The evidence in the Arabic sources regarding the Ghassān and the Lakhmids, leads us to believe the "Greek Arabs" to have been the Ghassānids and the "Arabs of Mesopotamia" the Lakhmids.

Arab historians agree without exception on the origins of this kingdom of Ghassān, but there is a wide divergence of opinion among them as to how they acquired the name "Ghassān." Most of them associate it with water in some respect,a fountain, a river or a spring. Al-Bustāni's Dictionary [18] states that the name "Ghassān" is derived from the verb "Ghassa" which means to dip into water. Each group of historians gives evidence for the adoption of the name, but each is as widely separated from the other as are the Yaman and Syria.

These, then, are the facts contained in the Arabic sources [19] about the origins of the name "Ghassān." The only fact that can be stated with any degree of certainty is that the name is derived from water. But whether this spring, fountain or river was in the Yaman, Mecca or Syria it is impossible to know in view of the conflicting evidence.

## GHASSĀN UNDER BYZANTIUM

Arabic sources, [20] both prose and verse, are prolific in references to names of palaces, towns and fortifications once under the domain of the Ghassānids. From these references we learn also their location and their importance in the life of Ghassān as well as Byzantium. Though the territorial limits are not properly defined, what can be gathered from Arabic sources forms an adequate picture of their rule over the entire region of South and Central Syria. This Ghassānid area includes territories North and South of Damascus (Damascus excluded), as far East as the Syrian Desert, as far South and West as

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[18] Shaykh ᶜAbdullāh al-Bustānī, *Al-Bustān.* (Beirut, American Press. 1930) P. 1024.

[19] Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I: P 6. cf. Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, XIV: 95; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I: 801. cf. Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, I: 241. cf. Hamza, *op. cit.*, 76. Mufaḍḍaliyyat, *op. cit.*, I: 783.

[20] Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, II: 281. cf. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I: 654. cf. Hamza, *op. cit.*, P. 79. cf. Al-Istakhrī, *op. cit.*, pp 13. cf. Al-Hamdānī, pp. 27, 86, 132. cf. Al-Ṭabarī,, *op. cit.*, II; 647.

the Jordan River including Palestine and the shores of Phoenicia (Lebanon) and as far North as Ḥumṣ (Ḥumṣ excluded). Busra, the one-time Ghassānid capital, situated in the Ḥauran district of Southern Syria, is one of the towns most frequently mentioned. There is at present a village in that locality called "Busra Iskisham" containing huge remains, consisting of an amphitheater, and several cisterns. But whether this village has any relationship with the ancient Busra is difficult to determine without further archeological excavations in the area. References to Balqāʾ, Jilliq and Jawallān—all districts of Damascus — recur frequently in the Arabic accounts and are often mentioned simultaneously with the name of the Kingdom.

The most difficult problem confronting us at this stage of the study is to determine the number of the kings of the Ghassānid dynasty. If we were to accept the lists of the rulers of Ghassān submitted by the various Arabic sources without checking them against each other and comparing them with the Byzantine and Syriac sources, we would end in confusion and despair. For reasons accounted earlier, Arab Muslim historians, in reporting the lists of the kings and the number of years each reigned, tended to exaggerate and often contradict themselves. It often seems that they have juggled the facts, without respect to history or even reality, in order to fit them into an overall pattern established by the dictates of religion, politics or the spirit of the time.

However, several factors regarding both the Arabic and non-Arabic sources, must be borne in mind. Unlike the material found in the Byzantine and Syriac sources, which was written contemporarily with the events taking place, the lists in the Arabic sources were recorded several hundred years after the downfall of the Ghassānid dynasty. Secondly, though Byzantine and Syriac sources have helped to identify some of the names of the kings of Ghassān, yet these sources lack a list of, or even an attempt at numbering, the Ghassānid kings. Finally, nowhere in the Syriac and Byzantine sources do we find special sections devoted to the Arabs or their kings. Any mention made of the Arabs in these sources was incidental to the general subject under discussion.

With regard to the founder of the Ghassānids most of the Arab historians,[21] who refer to the Ghassānid dynasty as Āl-Gafna (the family of Gafna), agree that the name of the founder of the tribe was Amrū bin ʿAmir. The first king of Ghassān, the majority of these sources agree, was Gafna bin Amrū, and that he was installed by the Byzantine emperor, after he had subdued the king of the Salīḥ tribe.

Most Arab Muslim historians compiled lists of the kings of Ghassān that we know of. The earliest is that of Ibn al-Kalbī,[22] who died

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[21] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.*, I: 233. cf. Ibn Qutayba, *op. cit.*, p 313. cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī, *op. cit.*, P 241. cf. Ibn Durayd, *op. cit.*, p. 258. cf. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, P. 16. cf. Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II: 1416. Hamza, *op. cit.*, p 77.

[22] Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, II: 280;

about 819 A.D. Although later historians establish that there were thirty-two kings, Ibn al-Kalbī names only ten, ending with Al-Ḥārith ibn Jabala. This omission by Ibn al-Kalbī could be attributed to the fact that he did not make use of the poems of the poets contemporary to Ghassān, namely Al-Nabīghah al-Dhubyānī and Ḥassān ibn Thābit. It might also be possible that they were recorded in the portion of Ibn al-Kalbī's work that has been lost to us. Whatever remained of his work has been reported to us in the form of passages by later Arab historians who passed along to us only what suited them. Although incomplete, what remained of Ibn al-Kalbī's work is of immense value to this study in that he was the writer closest (by a hundred years, at least) to the events of the Kingdom.

A most significant comment about these lists was made by Al-Masʿūdī, who based his list upon Ibn al-Kalbī's, when he said in conclusion: "We have mentioned to you only those kings that were famous in their time and whose kingdoms were known everywhere, for the sake of brevity." [23] This confession, not made by any other Arab historian, except Ibn Qutayba, [24] could be an answer to many of the problems confronting those engaged in the writing of the history of the pre-Islamic Arabs. More than likely many other Arab historians also failed to mention names or events that would have rounded out our picture of the kingdom "for the sake of brevity."

Nöldeke, (1863-1931) [25] one of the foremost European orientalists of his time, made a serious study of Ghassānid rule in Syria. He warned his readers that the Arabic lists and the total reigns of the kings of the Ghassān must be accepted with caution and reserve, because they were largely based on assumptions and not on historical facts and some were incorrectly copied.

A word of explanation should be made at this point in our study concerning the appalling confusion and overlapping of the lists of the kings of Ghassān. Although we have been critical of Arab historians' lack of coherence, methodology and analysis, it must be said that in view of the fact that much of their work had of necessity to be based on poems, folklore and legends related orally from one person to another, the mere attempt at defining the Ghassānid kings, their rule and achievements, is in itself a contribution not to be underestimated.

In the process of dissecting the various lists, certain overall facts stand out which clarify the general picture. It is to be noted that those who agree on who the first king was follow the same general line and end with about the same number of kings, indicating that these sources based their conclusions on the same original source. Most sources, irrespective of their claim as to who the first king was, arrive at the same total number of kings — between nine and eleven. In all these

[23] Al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.
[24] Ibn Qutayba, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-16.
[25] Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 57

lists, the name of one or another unimportant king has been excluded. Or we find names of kings who do not belong to the family of Ghassān, but ruled the area during an interruption in Ghassānid rule. Upon close examination of these lists, we find several brothers or sons named, each mentioned as having a different seat of rule. It does not seem plausible that every king or so would change the capital of the dynasty upon his accession, if there was any kind of stability in the Ghassānid rule. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that while the father was the king of the whole of Ghassānid territory, the sons were ruling in different parts of the kingdom on his behalf, a hypothesis which is strengthened if one bears in mind the patriarchal life these tribes led.

We have no specific reference as to the extent of autonomy the Ghassānid kings enjoyed in their domestic affairs within the empire. But as regards their position in Byzantine's military campaigns, they were responsible to the Emperor and his generals from whom they manifestly took orders. Of the earliest Greek historians dealing with the military account of the Byzantine armies from 408-553 A.D. Procopius, known as the historian of the eventful reign of Emperor Justinian, the Great (ruled 527-567) and secretary and chronicler to General Belisarius, tells us that "Arethas also came to him (Belisarius) with a large force of Saracens, and besides the Emperor wrote a letter instructing him to invade the enemy's country with all speed." [26]

In 562 A.D., Menander the Protector, writing of the fifty-year alliance between Byzantium and Persia dealing with the military, political and commercial aspects of the two empires, cites five conditions of that alliance. The only one of interest at this juncture specifies that "the Saracens in alliance with either kingdom would observe the same pacts." [27] This provision was undoubtedly included to impress upon the parties to the treaty that their vassals were also bound by its provisions.

### THE ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE OF GHASSĀN

The history of Ghassān is more than a story of the Byzantine-Sassanid wars and an exchange of raids between the Arab tribes of Syria and Mesopotamia. Although that is what the bulk of the information in our sources is concerned with, the references of an economic, religious and social nature are sufficient to give us an adequate picture of this phase of the life of the Kingdom.

Our sources reveal that Ghassān and the contemporary, neighboring kingdom of Lakham at Al-Ḥīrā in Mesopotamia, benefited and took active part in this East-West exchange of goods, and during certain stages in their relations gave safe conduct to the caravans passing

[26] Procopius, *op. cit.*, II. 399.
[27] Menander, *op. cit.*, FHG IV. p 211.

through their territories at certain profit to themselves. These two little kingdoms were also ideally situated not only for the military, but also for the economic purposes of the two great empires of which they were vassals. After once having been accepted by Byzantium as their allies, the Ghassān became their natural buffer against the encroachment of wandering Arab tribes and insured the safety of the eastern trade routes of the empire.

Yāqūt [28] tells us that the Ghassānid peoples and the Lakham traded with each other and that their capitals where situated where there was an abundance of water, trees and rich soil. He adds that the walls of their houses were decorated with mosaics and the ceilings painted with gold murals, indicating a degree of prosperity in, perhaps, a pseudo culture, no doubt patterned after that of Byzantium. This reference to their homes indicates that they were not merely nomads, but a settled community of sorts.

Numerous references are to be found in Arabic sources to the Ghassānid commercial centers. Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt [29] speaks of Busra, onetime capital of Ghassān as having been famous for its swords and as a center of arms factories. In enumerating the Arab bazaars of the pre-Islamic period, Al-Yaᶜqūbī [30] mentions ten such *aswāq* (bazaars), where Arab tribes met and exchanged their goods at specified seasons of the year. These *aswāq* also served the social needs of the people, because we are further told that it was here that they discussed their problems and recited their poetry.

Al-Iṣfahānī [31] describes the territory in which the Ghassānids settled as a rich land where wine, dates and silk were to be found. He mentions other important centers of trade such as Dair Ayyūb, near Damascus; Azruᶜat, near Balqāʾ. All of these places, we are informed, were famous for two important products, wine and swords.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the Kingdom of Ghassān was a prosperous one. Situated as it was in a vitally strategic position at the crossroads between two powerful empires, it was an important link between East and West. In its capital, Busra [32], and later Jawallān, thousands of people from the Yaman and Abyssinia, from the heart of the Arabian Desert, from India as well as Persia and Mesopotamia came to trade and rest. Agriculture, poetry and music, as trade, found fertile ground in which to thrive in Busra, where palaces and monasteries were built. [33] We are told that it was in Busra that the Prophet Muḥammad twice met Buhaira during his trading trips to Syria. [34]

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[28] Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II: p. 702.
[29] Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, *op. cit.*, I: 108.
[30] Al-Yaᶜqūbī, *op. cit.*, I: 313.
[31] Al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, XIV: 95.
[32] Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, I: 1007. cf. Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, I: 33-34.
[33] Al-Ṭabarī, Ibid., 968.
[34] Ibid., p. 1123

## THE RELIGION OF GHASSĀN

Although the time, the place and the details of Ghassānid profession of Christianity are lacking in the Arabic accounts, there is general agreement that they were Christians.[35] They are constantly referred to as *Al- Arab al-Mutanaṣṣirah* (those Christian Arabs). They were mentioned by Al-Jāḥiz and Al-Abshahī[36] as one of the several tribes prior to Islam that professed Christianity.

Arabic accounts leave little doubt that before coming to Syria the Ghassānids were pagans. Al-Azraqī[37] tells us that Mānāh, a stone idol known as the goddess of destiny, located on the coast near Qadīdah, between Madina and Mecca, was revered by the Azad and the Ghassān tribes and visited annually after the pilgrimage to Mecca. On the strength of the comparative abundance of evidence pointing to their conversion to Christianity after their arrival in Syria, we feel safe in dismissing the possibility that they were Christians before coming to Syria. Evidence is also very inconclusive for the latter view.

Judging from the tribes of Salīḥ and Quḍāᶜah who were earlier allies of the Byzantines and professed Christianity as a condition to their alliance, the same probably was true of the Ghassānids, though we are only told[38] that the Emperor Nestorus allowed the Ghassānids to settle in Syria "on certain conditions." Yaᶜqūbī[39] specifically states that the Kingdom of Ghassān became Christian during the reign of Jafna (Thaᶜlaba) ibn Amrū ibn ᶜAmir. He is generally accepted as the founder of the dynasty, although non-Arabic sources tell us it was Ḥārith who was first made king by the Byzantines. It is evident that Christianity became the religion of Ghassān soon after they settled in Syria and probably before they had a formal alliance with Byzantium. One of the "certain conditions" made by Nestorus was most probably Ghassān's adoption of Christianity.

The references[40] to the many monasteries built by Amrū ibn-Jafna and Al-Ayham ibn al-Ḥarith, early kings of the dynasty, are further evidence not only that this tribe adopted Christianity early in the history of the kingdom, but became alert to this aspect of their duty as Christians.

To the two poets, contemporaries of Ghassān and Lakham, we owe much of our knowledge of the social life as well as of the last days of this kingdom. In dealing with the works of these poets, however, one has to employ caution, for much of what has been said by them was obviously for the sake of gaining favor at the courts of Ghassān

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[35] Ibn Qutayba, *op. cit.*, P 314. cf. Al-Masᶜūdī, *Murūj*, Vol. I. 206 cf. Abūᵓl Fidāᵓ, *op. cit.*, I: p. 76. cf. Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, I: 7, 239, 246, 250, 257.
[36] Al-Jāḥiz, *op. cit.*, VII: 66. cf. Al-Abshahī, op. cit., II: 96.
[37] Al-Azraqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9. cf, Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[38] Al-Yaᶜqūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[40] Hamza, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78. cf. Abū-l-Fidā, *op. cit.*, I: 128.

and Lakham. These two poets, Ḥassān ibn Thābit (born 563 A.D.) and Al-Nabīghah al-Dhubyānī (died 604 A.D.) were closely associated with the rulers of these kingdoms, and alternated visits at the two courts.

Nevertheless the contribution of their poetry cannot be minimized. It is the only literary Arabic material in existence contemporary to the events of this study, and having been composed at a time when society had not become as complex as in the Islamic period, it was not subject to the pulls and pressures of politics and religion as later sources were. But for these poets we would be ignorant of the names and location of some of the Ghassānid villages and towns, and to some extent of their religious and social life. If we discount the exaggeration in Ibn Thābit's poetry, it can well be considered the only primary source of information about the late Ghassānid period.

We are given a glimpse of the social life at the Ghassānid court prior to Islam by his nostalgic reminscences inspired by a banquet from which he had just returned. He tells us "After seeing those two girls dance, I am reminded of the delightful days of Al-Jāhiliyyah, when I attended an affair at the court of Jabala ibn al-Ayham, where I saw ten girl singers, five of whom were Byzantine girls, singing in their own language and the other five singing the songs of Al-Ḥīrā. With the wine flowing Jabala would be seated, surrounded by jasmin and other fragrant blossoms, while misq and essence of oriental spices were served on platters of gold and silver." [41] In what is considered one of the best of Ḥasan's poems, [42] he records his pleasant memories of the days he spent at Jilliq (near Damascus), presumably the capital or dwelling place of the Ghassānids at his time. We also learn from it the names of several centers of Ghassānid activity. His pride in his background and his association with the Ghassānids is beautifully related in this poem.

### THE DOWNFALL OF GHĀSSAN

For over a quarter of a century after the banishment of Al-Nuᶜmān ibn al-Munthir, about the year 589 A.D., the Ghassānids no longer figured in Byzantine accounts. The only available material dealing with this part of Ghassānid history has been provided by Bar Hebraeus, [43] who evidently based most of his work on information derived from Ephesus.

Anyone familiar with the events that transpired in the Byzantine Empire prior to the rise of Islam will appreciate the difficult position of the Empire. On the East, Persia was on the march and all but captured Constantinople. On its southern boundary, it was threatened with one of the greatest eruptions of mass migration of peoples under

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[41] Al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, XVI: 15.
[42] *Ibid.*, XVI: p. 2.
[43] Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

the banner of a religious movement. This movement was out to conquer and convert the neighboring countries and peoples. Faced with this unhappy situation, it was imperative for the Emperor to issue the call for all his subjects and former allies to rally behind him against the impending invasions of the armies of Islam.

Among those who rallied to the call were the remnants of the Ghassānids in Southern Syria, regrouped under the romantic personality of Jabala ibn al-Ayham, the last king of the Ghassānids.[44] The story of the degeneration and final disintegration of this little kingdom which took place in the lifetime of its last king is closely woven around his life. The Arabic sources describe him in colorful terms, drawing upon the legendary story of his conversion to Islam, his visit to Mecca and his subsequent flight to Constantinople where he once again became a Christian. So much in fact has been written about this vivid figure that it can almost be said that more than half of the material dealing with Ghassān was devoted to him.

The last phase of Ghassānid history upon which Arabic sources dwelt at length falls into three stages: war with Islam; peace with Islam and finally, the flight of Jabala ibn al-Ayham to Constantinople. Ghassān's war with Islam was a blow that irrevocably shattered this kingdom as a political entity. We have our first references in Arabic sources to Ghassānid forces under Jabala on the side of Byzantium when in 13 A. H. (634 A.D.) the colorful Arab warrior Khālid ibn Walīd who was fighting the Persians in Iraq, was ordered to come to the aid of the Muslim forces in their battle against the Byzantines in Syria. On Easter day of that same year the Byzantine forces and the Ghassānids met defeat at Marj Rahit (a Ghassānid camp about fifteen miles south of Damascus).

Two years later, Byzantine forces, again accompanied by the Ghassānids fought the most decisive battle of Byzantine-Islamic history, the Battle of Al-Yarmuk, (a tributary of the Jordan river) on the 15th day of Rajab 15 A.H. (636 A.D.)[45] It was this battle that began the withdrawal of the Byzantine forces from Syria, and brought about the downfall of the Ghassānid kingdom and paved the way for the Islamization of the country.

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*New York.*

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[44] Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, I: 2109. cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, II. p. 314.
[45] Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, I: 2119. cf. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 160. cf. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

# JOSEPH IN THE QUR'AN AND MUSLIM COMMENTARY. II.

PART II

## 4. Pharaoh's Dreams and Joseph's Elevation.

### A. Pharaoh's Dreams

Once again the Prophet passes over a dream in outline, since he is much more concerned with Joseph's ability to interpret and reveal dark sayings. The two dreams are given simply as follows: The "king of Egypt" saw seven fat kine which seven lean kine devoured, and seven green ears of corn and other seven withered ears. Clearly Muḥammad has abbreviated the second almost out of all significance. In the Bible (Gen. xli. 1-4) the first dream is that Pharaoh stood by a river, out of which came seven fat kine which then fed in a meadow; after them came seven lean-fleshed kine from the river and stood opposite the fat ones on the river's edge. The lean devoured the fat — and Pharaoh awoke. The version in the Surah is almost a skeleton outline. Possibly this was all the Prophet required for his purpose. Commentators tell us that the Pharaoh of this Surah was Riyān, son of Al-Walīd the Amalekite, who was converted by Joseph to monotheism. Al-Baiḍāwī reports the fantastic legend that this Pharaoh was also Pharaoh in Moses' day and that he ruled four hundred years.

Jewish legend (Midrash Hagadol...Sepher Bereshith 618) informs us that Pharaoh had had these two dreams every night for two years (note the recurrence of this period), but had always forgotten them by morning. This was the first time he had remembered them, since it was the day Joseph was due, by decree of God, to be released from prison. The legends, as does the Bible (Gen. xli. 8), tell us that Pharaoh was much troubled by his dreams and at once sent for the wisest magicians in Egypt, but none was able to explain their meaning. The Surah merely mentions the command of Pharaoh to his "nobles," who said they were confused dreams and not in the usual category which they could interpret.

At this point Muslim and Jewish sources agree that the butler remembered how Joseph had given accurate interpretations of his and the chief-baker's dreams. Strangely enough the Qurʾān does not identify the one who remembered more specifically than that he was Joseph's fellow-prisoner who was freed from prison. Interestingly, Muḥammad mentions that this man remembered Joseph 'after a certain space of time' (this phrase omitted in Rodwell's translation), which may imply that Muḥammad had heard the Jewish tradition that God had made the butler forget Joseph —else why should he forget so important an event in his life?

The butler claims to be able to interpret for Pharaoh, if the latter will give him permission to go for the interpretation. Immediately we are told that the butler addresses Joseph, asking him to explain the dreams, so that he may return to those who had sent him with the interpretation. Yashar Mikkez (hereafter YM) 94b-95a tells us that Pharaoh would have slain all the magicians who had given false interpretations, but Mirod, the chief-butler, remembering Joseph, begged Pharaoh to stay the hands of the hangmen and bring Joseph before him to interpret. Only according to the Qurʾān did the butler go to Joseph directly and Joseph interpret to the butler first, before being called to the Pharaoh. It would seem as though Muḥammad had received an obscure tradition about the butler's movements, and that he reconstructed events which were uncertain to him.

B. Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dreams.

Thus in the Surah the interpretations are made first to the chief-butler, whereas in Jewish sources Pharaoh hears the butler's mention of Joseph and instantly summons Joseph to his presence. Hence the Surah has nothing of the Biblical story (Gen. xli. 14) that Joseph was released from prison, that he shaved and changed his clothes before being led to Pharaoh.

Concerning the second dream, Joseph tells the butler that the Egyptians would sow seven years as usual, but that they should take only some from the ear and leave the rest. There would follow seven years of severe famine which would consume all they had stored up, except a little which they should have kept aside. The year following would bring plenty of rain, a year in which they would press wine and oil.

According to Al-Baiḍāwī, the instruction to leave some in the ear was to preserve it from the weevil. Various commentators comment on the mention of plentiful rain, the most likely explanation being that this rain would be that which fell usually in Ethiopia, swelling the Nile. It is to be noted that the first dream is not here mentioned, possibly because it was Pharaoh's second dream which troubled him the more. Jewish tradition, as in Midr. Hagad...Sepher Bereshith 618, states on this point that Pharaoh could see some sense in kine eating kine, but mouthless corn-ears devouring other corn-ears seemed strange indeed, and it was this more mysterious dream which prompted him to call for the wisest in the land to interpret.

In connection with Joseph's interpretation before Pharaoh in later Jewish legend, we are told, e.g. in YM 95a, that Pharaoh revoked the edict condemning the wise men of Egypt and commanded his messengers to bring Joseph, being careful not to excite or confuse him, lest he be rendered unable to interpret his dream correctly. After an angel from Paradise had provided Joseph with fresh raiment (so BR 89.9, Zohar I. 194b), Joseph came before Pharaoh. When Joseph saw the

king he was astounded because of the majestic throne, the royal garments, the ephod in which were set many precious stones. Joseph asked Pharaoh how he knew the interpretations of the wise men were not true, and Pharaoh replied that he saw the dream and its interpretation together. Joseph announced that he himself was not skilled in interpreting dreams, but God would interpret. Pharaoh related his dream, omitting some points and confusing others deliberately, to test Joseph — who corrected him, having himself dreamed the same dream as Pharaoh and at the same time: so Tanhuma Mikkez 3, Zohar I.196a and in Midr. Hagad...S. Bereshith 611. The interpretation of both dreams is then given as in the Biblical account, though one tradition, recorded in BR 89.9, etc., has it that the famine was originally to be for forty-two years, but God mitigated the severity and curtailed the duration for the sake of Jacob when the patriarch came to Egypt in the second year of the famine, the other forty years falling in the time of the prophet Ezekiel. Pharaoh was not convinced of the veracity of Joseph's interpretations and Joseph gave him a prophecy concerning the family of Pharaoh which was fulfilled only minutes after Joseph had withdrawn from his presence. This, it is said in YM 95b-96b, was the real cause of Pharaoh's complete trust in Joseph and his subsequent elevating of the Hebrew slave.

### C. Sequel to the Interpretations.

According to the Qur'ān, when the king heard the interpretations from the butler he sent a messenger to Joseph to bring him, but Joseph said to the messenger in effect that he would not leave the prison until his innocence was made known. Hence the reference to the women who cut their hands at the banquet given by Zulaika. Al-Baiḍāwī and other commentators observe that Joseph only asks the King in order to incite him to make a proper enquiry into the whole matter of his imprisonment, without actually mentioning Zulaika by name. An enquiry is held by Pharaoh and the women referred to are asked by him what their designs were when they desired Joseph for his person (so Palmer) or (according to Rodwell) why they solicited Joseph, or again (according to Sale) what was their design when they solicited Joseph to unlawful love. The women answer that they knew nothing evil of Joseph and that in fact Potiphar's wife had told them that she, not Joseph, was responsible for the enticement and so Joseph's innocence is established before Pharaoh.

Hence, Joseph is later elevated because his veracity is thus demonstrated, whereas according to BR 90.1. Joseph's prophecy before Pharaoh moved the latter to elevate him. In the Bible (Gen. xli. 32-36) the interpretations given by Joseph are followed by the statement in v. 32 that the dream about the severe famine was "doubled to Pharaoh twice," because of the extreme severity of the famine and because it

was willed by God. Joseph advises Pharaoh to find a wise man whom he should set over Egypt. Pharaoh himself appoints Joseph, of his own accord, because of the latter's wisdom, puts his own ring on Joseph's hand, clothes him with fine linen and places a gold chain about his neck. There are Jewish legends to the same effect, but amplifying with details the circumstances of Pharaoh's choice of Joseph as Grand Vizier. In YM 95b-96b it is told how the great men of the realm (princes, etc.: cf. the Quranic term "nobles" but "servants" in the Bible) suggested that only according to Joseph's recommendations could the land be saved from the famine to come. Pharaoh then agrees that the wisest possible man must be responsible for saving the land, and who could be wiser than Joseph? The astrologers, Pharaoh's counsellors, demurred and the princes objected, both on the grounds that Joseph was but a slave, and Pharaoh was compelled to test Joseph further. One pretext employed by those who were against Joseph was that he knew only his own language. However, during the night Gabriel appeared to Joseph in prison and taught him seventy languages (thus giving him the status of ruler in the Egyptian system) and next morning Joseph mounted the seventy steps leading up to the throne and set himself at the top, henceforth proving his qualifications for supreme leadership and equal authority with Pharaoh himself, for no one else in the land knew "the seventy" languages.

The words, put by the Qurʾān in the mouth of Joseph, are in keeping with many traditional accounts though not Biblical in origin. The Prophet omits many sides of Joseph's life, but emphasises those which best fit his own doctrine. Here Joseph expresses satisfaction that his honor is restored and his name cleared. The Prophet makes him attribute to God the defeat of evil.

The expression "the Lord is forgiving and merciful" which appears frequently is Biblical and is found in almost exactly the same liturgical use in Samaritan religious literature. It is quite likely that this Biblical expression used by Joseph was known to the Prophet from Jewish sources. It may be that the more frequent usage in the Samaritan liturgies, so often found in rubrics and well-established before and after the Prophet's time, is the source. Al-Baiḍāwī quotes Ibn ʿAbbas's tradition that when Joseph said, "Yet I do not hold myself innocent," Gabriel had appeared and reminded him of his intention to lie with the Egyptian's wife. Joseph then confessed his frailty.

We have seen that the Qurʾān had a variation on the theme of Joseph's release and elevation, and at this point, after the soliloquy of Joseph, we read that the King ordered Joseph to be brought to him. It appears that there was a conversation between the two before the King announced to Joseph his new status. Although the Prophet does not say what passed between them (simply "when he had spoken with him"), it is interesting that he should have troubled to mention these

words, when he could so drastically cut down the account of the all-important dreams! There is a Jewish tradition (recorded in YM 96b-97a, but based on much older sources) of a conversation in which the King (so-called here too) says that since he was a master of all the languages of the world and endowed with Divine guidance, there could be none to compare with him in wisdom and "discretion." So Pharaoh made Joseph second in the land to himself, stating that Joseph would be supreme in everything, except that the throne would of course be the King's. The Biblical account is in Gen. xli. 39-45 and it gives many details with which Muḥammad was clearly not concerned or familiar. In the *Kitāb Tafāsīr*, of Al-Baiḍāwī and in many Muslim commentaries, we read of details (above-mentioned) which can only have come from Jewish sources, that Joseph was taken from prison and, after washing and changing his clothes, saluted the King in Hebrew. Whereupon the King asked what language it was and Joseph told him that it was the language of his fathers. Then we are told the Jewish tradition that "this prince" (i.e. Pharaoh) understood seventy languages and discoursed with Joseph, who answered in the same language on every occasion. Marvelling at the wonder and the subsequent detailing by Joseph of his dreams, the Pharaoh placed him by him on the throne and made him his chief minister. A strange story is also added in Muslim sources, that Potiphar was dying about this time and that Joseph succeeded to his place as well, that Joseph married his widow by Pharaoh's command and found her to be a virgin. His late mistress then bore him Ephraim and Manasseh. The commentators add that this woman (i.e. Zulaika) was thus the same person as Asenath (so-called by "Moses"). Sale quotes D. Herbelot (Art. on "Yūsuf" in Bibl. Orient.), who gives the last statement and suggests that this supposed marriage, which gave legality to their love, probably encouraged the Muslim theologians to make use of the loves of Joseph and Zulaika as an allegorical emblem of the spiritual love between the Creator and the creature, God and the soul, just as the Christians apply the Song of Solomon to the same mystical purpose.

One further point is mentioned by the Qur'ān, namely that Joseph himself bade the King set him over the storehouses of Egypt, promising to be a diligent and resourceful keeper of them. In the context of Surah xii. SS it would almost seem as though the thought had not occurred to the King.

Then follows another characteristic Muslim note which may simply be here because the first main section of the Joseph story has ended and the second is about to begin. The frequent Quranic expression "we bestow our favors on whom we will' is also frequent in Samaritan benedictions in the optative form. But it is not yet established whether Muḥammad or not received the term from the Samaritans (whose influence was widespread in the 7th century). Again, Joseph is alluded to as one of the righteous, the term *tsaddīq* being a Samaritan epithet

for Joseph (*inter alia*). One might contrast Samaritan and Quranic usage with regard to Joseph thus: Muḥammad is following a spiritual or doctrinal theme and so Joseph is "righteous," whereas the Samaritan epithets (which include also all Joseph's attributes according to the Prophet) stress Joseph "the King," the "crowned." Joseph, for the Samaritans, is one of the righteous certainly, but his specific honour is that of kingship. But then Muḥammad was not a Jew, nor did he feel the pride of the Samaritans that their ancestor Joseph became ruler over all Egypt. He is much more interested in presenting the story of how Joseph was elevated by God's will because of his righteousness and wisdom. Was Muḥammad not developing a theme about Joseph; rather than merely throwing out parts of what he received from the Jews? Has his thought about Joseph and his life-story discovered in that history clear illustration for his own doctrinal themes? Perhaps more notice should be paid to this conjecture, in preference to the theory that the Prophet knew only isolated traditions or did not appreciate what he had heard. Muḥammad knew what he was doing, despite deviations and omissions in his account.

We learn little in the Surah of Joseph's rule, nor are we told much of the circumstances which brought Joseph's brethren to Egypt, though the commentators give us some traditions. Al-Baiḍāwī tells us, as does the Biblical account (Gen. xli. 54, 56-7), that the famine was not confined to Egypt, but affected other lands. He specifically mentions Syria and neighbouring countries. Philo (De Josepho 27) tells us that the famine spread from country to country till it affected the entire world. Another Jewish source (BR 90.6: YM 99a) confines it to Phoenicia, Arabia and Palestine apart from Egypt. Al-Baiḍāwī adds that the inhabitants of Egypt were driven to appeal to Joseph for corn, that at first he sold them corn in exchange for their money and jewelry and then their cattle and lands, and finally themselves (cf. Gen. xlvii. 13-20). By agreement with Pharaoh, however, Joseph soon released them and returned their possessions. In Canaan, Jacob and his family, like all the inhabitants of that land, were suffering too, and Jacob sent his sons, excluding the youngest, Benjamin, to Egypt for corn. Several Jewish traditions, as recorded for example in YM 99a-100a, chiefly from older sources, give a different occasion for the coming of the brethren of Joseph. They say that Joseph used the famine as an opportunity to see his family again, and issued a decree concerning the buying of Egyptian corn. Anyone desirous of buying corn in Egypt was to send, not his servants, but his own sons for it.

The Genesis narrative (xlii. 1-4) tells that when Jacob found that corn was to be had in Egypt, he ordered his sons, save Benjamin, to set out for Egypt and purchase corn. Whatever the actual occasion may have been the Qurʾān tells us simply that "Joseph's brethren came."

## 5. Joseph, His Brethren and the Sequel.

### A. First Visit of Joseph's Brethren.

The Quranic narrative is simple and brief. Joseph's brethren came (to the city or capital) and went in to him. Joseph knew them, but they did not recognise him. After he had provided them with their supply of provisions, he bade them return with their brother (i.e. Benjamin), claiming that this was generous hospitality and adding that if they did not comply with his request there would be no corn issued to them and that they would have no future access to him. They agree to try. Before they set off again for Canaan, Joseph ordered his servants to put the money they had paid into their sacks, hoping by this stratagem to encourage them to return.

The story in Gen. xlii. 5-26 is more detailed and the Quranic account follows it in outline. The brothers arrived among others from Canaan and came to Joseph, bowing down to him, while he, recognising them, made sure that they would not recognise him by feigning a rough manner. Using the pretext that they were spies Joseph made them prove their claim to have come merely to purchase corn by keeping them for three days until they agreed to go back to Canaan for Benjamin. Joseph kept Simeon as a hostage and had the brethren's money put back in their sacks and they set off for Canaan.

Al-Baiḍāwī reproduces this account, with small variations. He gives a lucid review of the conversation between Joseph and his brothers, and quotes his source that Joseph asked them how many there were of them in all. They replied that they were twelve in number, one lost in the wilderness and one at home with their father. Joseph used their story as an excuse to bring the other brother to him, although the brothers thought the injunction was given in order to make them prove their claim that they were not spies as Joseph had said. Further agreement is observed in Al-Baiḍāwī's reference to it being useless to argue the matter (i.e. as recorded in Gen. xlii. 21-22), the only difference being that he gives the choice of Simeon as being by lot and not as in the Biblical story by Joseph's will. One further detail in Al-Baiḍāwī's tradition, which is not mentioned in the Genesis story, is that Joseph gave each brother a camel and provided an extra one for their brother (i.e. Benjamin).

In BR 91.4 it is recorded that Manasseh, Joseph's son, was on duty at the gates of the city of Egypt when Joseph's brethren arrived. He listed the names of all arrivals and Joseph that evening found their names in the list. When the brethren finally came before Joseph's throne they did not recognise him. The occasion for Joseph condemning them as spies is given in YM 100b-101a (based on older sources) as being due to the fact that the brothers spent three days in the capital (Miṣr not necessarily meaning the country Egypt), whereas people who came for corn usually left the country without delay after completing

their purchase. In the Surah, we are told that Joseph said there would be no more corn for his brothers if they did not return with their brother, whereas the threat in the Biblical account is one of death. Later Jewish accounts, based on early sources, generally agree with the Biblical story. On the choice of Simeon, Abkir in Yalkut I.148 informs us that Joseph chose Simeon because he was not a favorite son of Jacob and there might, therefore, be less difficulty in persuading the brothers to agree to his request for the other brothers.

The further stratagem of Joseph in having the brothers' money 'refunded' occurs in all the sources with minor variations. Al-Baiḍāwī comments that the money put back involved not only actual money, but goods bartered for other merchandise, and he quotes other commentators as saying that the brothers paid for the corn, not in money, but in shoes and dressed skins. The Jewish traditions agree with the Biblical account as usual, and actual coinage appears to be meant.

B. The Brethren return to Canaan.

According to the Qurʾān, the brothers returned to their father and told him of the Egyptian ruler's injunction. Jacob did not trust them, just as on the occasion when they asked him to allow Joseph to accompany them, but trusting in God he agreed. Then the brothers opened their provisions and discovered the money returned. Taking this as a sign of goodwill on Joseph's part, they exhorted Jacob who, however, made them swear to return with their brother (unless they were prevented by some unforeseen circumstance). The brothers gave their solemn oath and Jacob bade them be careful to enter (the capital) by different gates as a precaution, though admitting that the precaution would be void if God had decreed otherwise. This precaution as given by the Prophet tallies with the Jewish tradition to the same effect recorded in BR 91 and in Midr. Yalkut 148.

Gen. xlii. 27 states that it was when one of the brothers opened his sack to give provender to his ass in an inn that the money was discovered — on the journey home. In YM 101b-102a and elsewhere it is said that Levi was the brother who found his money thus and various explanations are given as to how the discovery actually took place. In Gen.xlii.27 we read of one brother finding his money by chance and in v.35 they discover their money when emptying their sacks after return. Thus the Qurʾān records one of the traditions contained in the Biblical narrative. The two accounts are explained in the Jerusalem Targum for verses 27 and 36 (and various other traditions) and it is just possible that the first in no way contradicts the second.

On the question of the words "this is a small quantity" (Rodwell: "easy quantity:" Palmer: "a small measure:") various interpretations have been suggested: — (i) referring to the corn they had brought from Egypt, that it was insufficient: (ii) referring to the amount being nothing to the king of Egypt: or (iii) Jacob said the words, meaning

that the amount was not a matter of great enough moment to compel him to let his remaining son go with the other sons to Egypt. The translation of the words will depend on the meaning inferred. There is no Jewish tradition known to the writer which clarifies the point.

An interesting feature of (liturgical?) phraseology occurs in this section; Jacob says: "He (God) is the most merciful of those who shew mercy." Had Muḥammad heard this phrase from either Jews or Samaritans, in whose liturgies these exact words appear frequently of God?

The solemn promise demanded by Jacob in the Quranic account appears somewhat differently in Jewish traditions. In the Bible, Gen. xliii.9, Judah himself offers to be surety for Benjamin if Jacob will let him return to Egypt with them, since the only way they could procure corn was to comply with the demand of the Egyptian ruler (verses 1-8).

### C. Second Visit of Joseph's Brethren.

The brothers, the Qur'ān tells us, entered Joseph's presence, and Joseph received Benjamin as his guest, revealing his identity to him and telling him to bear no ill-will against his brethren for what they had done. Joseph furnished them with their provisions and put his cup in Benjamin's sack. The commencement of their journey from the city is not stated, but we are told that a 'crier' cried: "O company of travellers, you are thieves." The brothers enquired as to what had been missed and they were told that the missing article was the prince's cup and that a camel's load of corn would be the reward for the person who restored it. After the brothers denied that they were thieves, the Egyptians asked what, in the brothers' opinion, should be their punishment if they were proved to be lying. The brothers answered that the one in whose pack the cup was found should be given to the Egyptians as recompense. Then we read that Joseph searched their packs and finally discovered the cup in Benjamin's.

The brothers said that a brother of Benjamin's had stolen before; and Joseph kept his identity hidden from them. Joseph thought to himself that the brothers were in even worse condition than before! The brothers then pleaded that their father was aged and that one of them should be taken rather than Benjamin, but Joseph states that this exchange would not be just.

Now followed a discussion among the brethren in which the eldest reminded them of the oath made before God and announced that he would not quit Egypt until Jacob gave permission. He advised them to return to their father and say that his son had been stolen and that they could not prevent the unforeseen happening. They were to bid Jacob enquire in the city where they had been and of the caravan with which they arrived, to prove their statement. At this point the

narrative (possibly part of the foregoing as well) seems to refer to the brothers' actual return and address to Jacob.

The Biblical story is contained in Gen.xliii.15 — xliv.34, with which the Quranic sequence agrees in the main. On the first stage of this second visit Surah xii does not refer to the Biblical account (Gen. xliii. 12, 15) that Jacob gave his sons double money, plus the money they had found in their sacks. According to the Qurʾān, Joseph received Benjamin as a guest and at once (one infers) revealed his true identity to him. In the Biblical account, a lot happens before Joseph provided his brethren for their return journey. He was deeply moved to see Benjamin and blessed him, but there is no statement that he revealed his identity to him. According to Gen.xlv.3 Joseph revealed this to the brethren at one time. Does the Qurʾān reflect the outline of a Jewish tradition, recorded in YM 104b-105a, that whilst at table Joseph had his magic astrolobe brought to him and asked Benjamin to look on it. Thus Benjamin discovered Joseph and the latter acknowledged the relationship.

The Qurʾān mentions Benjamin being the guest of Joseph, this being all it tells of the banquet given by Joseph for his brethren. The Biblical account and many later Jewish legends give details of the setting of the banquet. Al-Baiḍāwī seems to have known the Jewish tradition, but with modifications. In the relevant Targumic passages we read that it was prepared in such a way as to fulfil Hebrew ritual requirements. The meal is said to have been a Sabbath one (BR 92. 4). On the setting of the places Al-Baiḍāwī records that they were placed together in twos, so that Benjamin had to sit alone. This seems to have distressed Benjamin, who cried out tearfully that if Joseph had been alive he would have sat with him. Then Joseph ordered him to be seated beside himself. According to Midr. Tanhuma (Buber's edit. 1885) the table was set in three divisions, one for Joseph, one for his brethren and one for the Egyptians present. In BR and certain Midrashim and the Jer. Targ. here, Joseph placed the brothers according to their dignity and age, and in YM, following the Midrashim and Jer. Targ., Joseph placed Benjamin beside himself on the ground that Benjamin was the only one not having a brother born of the same mother as himself.

According to Al-Baiḍāwī, Joseph dismissed the brethren to be housed in twos, save Benjamin whom he kept in his own apartment for the night, as if to imply that Joseph confided in Benjamin while the others were not present. In YM 104b-105a it is narrated that Joseph entered into conversation with, and revealed himself to, Benjamin at table, informing him of his plan to recall the brothers before they had gone far on their return journey to Canaan. Regarding the actual occasion of Joseph revealing his true identity to Benjamin, Al-Baiḍāwī records the tradition that it happened next day that Joseph asked Benjamin if he would accept him to fill the place of his lost brother, whereupon

Benjamin replied that there certainly was none to compare with Joseph as a brother, but he did not come from the same place. At this Joseph revealed himself.

Surah xii hastens on with its narrative, omitting many points recorded in the earliest Jewish tradition. So we reach the setting for the departure of the brethren. The Genesis account (xliv.2) informs us that Joseph ordered the steward of his house (Manasseh according to the Jer. Targ. and Tanhuma) to fill their sacks with food, as much as they could carry, and to put each man's money in the mouth of his sack, and further to place his own silver cup in the mouth of the youngest's sack with his corn money. The Qur'ān merely states that Joseph furnished the brethren with provisions and put his cup in Benjamin's sack. Muslim commentators variously refer to this cup, some suggesting that it was a measure holding about a gallon, by which at one time the Egyptians used to measure out cereal or even administer water to their animals, whereas others follow the Jewish tradition, as in the Bible, that it was a silver (or gold) drinking-cup. In BR 92.5 and elsewhere it appears that Joseph raised his cup at the beginning of the afore-mentioned banquet and pretended to inhale his knowledge of the brothers' family relationships from it. It would seem natural to identify the cup placed in Benjamin's sack with that used by Joseph, for in the latter's eminent position he alone, apart from the Pharaoh, could possess such a cup for his own use, a cup which would be known to the Egyptians who went after the brethren. This would agree with Gen. xliv.5 which actually refers to Joseph's divining.

The sequel to this part of the Joseph story is obscure in the Surah. On the basis of an old interpretation of Gen.xliv.4 we learn from Yalkut I.150 that they were still a mile from the city when Joseph dispatched Manasseh to go after them. The reason is given that Joseph dared not wait until the brethren were too far, for then they would be impossible to overtake.

The dialogue between Joseph's crier (i.e. Manasseh of the Midrashim) and the brethren follows in the main the Biblical record (Gen. xliv.6-10) except that the Surah contains the additional detail that the one who restored the cup would receive an extra camel's load of corn, a detail not obviously related to any well-known Jewish source.

There is one difference, however, in the matter of the mention of punishment for them if they were proved to be lying when they made their denial. The Quranic account seems to be based on the tradition recorded in BR and elsewhere that after the brothers had voluntarily suggested death as a fitting penalty, Manasseh said that he would not be so hard, but rather the guilty party should be enslaved and the rest set free. This accords with the Biblical statement in Gen. xliv.17 that Joseph himself asserted that the guilty person should become his servant, while the others should go off in safety to their father. Actually, slavery was the method used by Jacob and his family for such

a crime. In Egyptian law the stealing of such a cup was punishable by death, however, and hence the accurate Biblical note (Gen.xliv.9) that it was the brothers themselves who suggested death as the punishment to fit the crime. Their opinion, according to this passage, was not asked. It is probable that the brethren knew the Egyptian law on this point, or possibly they were so certain of their innocence that they exaggerated the suggested punishment. In any case, Jewish traditions are conflicting here, for in Philo (De Josepho 38) it is claimed that the brothers were convinced that the finding of the cup was the result of a conspiracy against them.

Next the Qurʾān tells us that Joseph searched the sacks and found the cup in Benjamin's. According to the Biblical account the steward (Manasseh according to the above-quoted traditions) searched the sacks and discovered the cup. The Surah reflects the Jewish tradition about the procedure adopted during the search, for in the last-mentioned Jewish source Manasseh avoided exciting the brothers' suspicion by beginning with the sack of Reuben, the eldest, and working down until he came to Benjamin's. The only difference is that in the Surah Joseph is said to be the searcher. This may be purposely to allow a further opportunity to stress the strategies of Joseph, revealed from the divine source.

The additional note by the Prophet that by Pharaoh's law Joseph had no authority to apprehend Benjamin (but God intervened) is also in accord with Egyptian practice in the matter of punishment for theft, for presumably (and so Palmer interprets) the Prophet meant by "seizing" or "apprehending" his brother, actual holding for servitude.

Then the Surah tells us that the brethren remarked that a brother of Benjamin's had stolen before, a remark which seems unnecessary and out of place. There is a tradition of the Jews recorded in BR 92 (cf. Gen.xxxi.19): "He is a thief and the son of a thief" — but referring to Benjamin, not Joseph! According to Jalāl al-Dīn the occasion for the remark was that Joseph was brought up by his father's sister, who became so fond of him that Jacob planned to take Joseph from her. She contrived to keep him by placing a girdle which once belonged to Abraham around him and then pretending that she had lost it. On search being made, Joseph was found to be wearing it and so (according to the family law already referred to above) he was given to her as her own property. This is an unlikely tradition and is not so well-established as another unlikely tradition (also recorded by Jalāl al-Din and others) that Joseph stole an idol of gold belonging to his grandfather, which he broke so as to avoid worshipping it. This latter tradition is possibly (by corrupt transmission of traditions) taken from Rachel's stealing Laban's images (which would itself account for the above-quoted tradition from BR). We also learn from the same unreliable Muslim account that Joseph once stole a goat or a hen in order to give it to a man in need. In BR 102.8 the words: "O thou thief

and son of a thief" were used by the brothers of Benjamin when his sack was found to contain the missing cup, and the reference to his parent is to his mother (i.e. Rachel), so that the best Muslim explanation of the Quranic reference is probably that which corrupts this tradition into the one that states that Joseph stole his grandfather's cup — but at least it refers to his *maternal* grandfather!

Finally, the Qur'ān states that Joseph did not reveal his true identity to his brethren and considered them, by their behavior, to be worse than ever. However, the Biblical account gives it that Joseph revealed himself to them when they were ready to leave for Canaan, i.e. before Jacob himself came to Egypt. In Tanhuma way-Yiggash 5 and BR 93.8 we read that Joseph revealed himself to his brothers (before they returned to Jacob) only after they were on the point of destroying Egypt in their terrible anger at having to go without Benjamin!

Now the brothers plead that they have an aged father and offer that one of them should be held instead of Benjamin. In Gen. xliv. 18 ff. it is Judah who pleads — in similar terms but at greater length — and it is Judah (according to BR 92.9 and Yalkut I.150, etc.) who is most anguished at the thought of Benjamin being kept in Egypt as a bondman. At this point the Surah and the Genesis narrative vary, for in Gen.xliv.1-3 Joseph is so moved by Judah's speech that he declares his identity, whereas in the Surah Joseph says that it would not be fair to hold an innocent man and not punish the guilty. The last-mentioned Jewish traditions also give Joseph's response in terms similar to that of the Surah and according to YM (at the end) Joseph dismissed the brothers, as the Bible says, and then locked Benjamin in a room, whereupon Judah burst open the door and began to persuade Joseph, but failed and finally resorted to force.

According to the Qur'ān the brothers find that they cannot persuade Joseph and so go apart to take counsel together. In this private conversation the eldest (who would be Reuben), as we have noted above, offered to remain in Benjamin's place and he bids them return to Jacob and justify their losing his son. Here the Surah becomes difficult, for we seem to be at once transported to Canaan and the actual discussion between Jacob and his returned sons.

Perhaps it is here that we have the most striking difference between this account and the Jewish, for the Prophet seems to include an additional return to Canaan and therefore an additional visit to Egypt. In the Bible and almost all pertinent Jewish legends the brothers returned to Canaan on the second occasion full of joy and hope, because Joseph had revealed his identity, so that when they met Jacob the aged patriarch was quite overcome.

### D. The additional (Quranic) return to Canaan.

However, the Surah proceeds at once to a scene between the brethren and Jacob, apparently involving an actual return to Canaan. Presumably

the brothers reported to Jacob, as the eldest son had advised, for Jacob accused them of having contrived his loss. Jacob is made to seek patience, until God should restore all to him, meaning Joseph, Benjamin and Judah. He then expressed his great grief for Joseph, because the old bereavement returned so forcibly in these similar circumstances. "His eyes became white with mourning," being overcome with extreme sorrow. Al-Baiḍāwī comments that Jacob's pupils lost their blackness and became pearl-white through excessive weeping, with the result that either his vision was impaired or he became blind. This may reflect the tradition recorded in YM 101b-102a and the Targumim, referring to the *first* return to Canaan when Jacob on finding that Simeon had been kept in Egypt, explaimed, "Ye will bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave."

The sons speak reprovingly to their father, accusing him of remembering Joseph till the end of his days. Strangely enough, the Qurʾān hints that Jacob really knew that Joseph was alive, when Jacob replied that he only pleaded his sorrow to God, adding, significantly, that he had knowledge from God not possessed by them. Al-Baiḍāwī comments that this knowledge was that Joseph was still alive, because the angel of death assured Jacob thus in a dream. Another school of thought is that Jacob was waiting for the complete fulfilment of Joseph's dream of so many years ago, namely that his other sons had yet to bow down to Joseph. This tradition is clearly founded on the Jewish source recorded in Midr. Tanhuma on Gen. xlii. 1. Jacob then bade his sons go and enquire of Joseph and Benjamin with confidence. Perhaps the Prophet himself was aware of the above tradition referred to by Al-Baiḍāwī.

E. The Additional (Quranic) Visit to Egypt.

The brothers, coming before Joseph, asked for corn as a gift, for they had insufficient money to buy corn. Joseph then reminded them of what they had ignorantly done to Joseph and Benjamin. Al-Baiḍāwī goes on to quote a Jewish tradition, recorded in YM 103a-104a, that Joseph's words here were occasioned by a letter from Jacob which had been delivered to him by the brethren on their return to Egypt with Benjamin (i.e. the second visit), but Al- Baiḍāwī may be a little inaccurate when he states that the letter contained a demand for the release of Benjamin, for Benjamin had then only arrived in Egypt. It is more likely that the release of Simeon would be requested as the letter of Jewish tradition in fact states. The reference to ignorance on the part of the brothers is variously explained by Muslim commentators as due to Joseph excusing their bad behavior on grounds of youth and ignorance.

It would seem that this narrative assumes that Joseph told his brothers all they had done to him — as in Midr. Tanhuma (Buber's) I. 206-7, where, however, it is Benjamin who actually recounts the

brethren's deeds, while he is making an oath in Joseph's presence that he did not steal the cup. In any case, the Quranic Joseph now revealed his true identity, whereupon the brethren said: "Are you really Joseph?." Joseph confirmed that he was (and that Benjamin was his brother). Al-Baiḍāwī at this point gives the view that the brothers' question was not based on any suspicion of Joseph's true identity, but that they actually knew him, either by his expression or behavior — or even by his front teeth, visible when smiling. Another view is that he took off his crown (cf. the Samaritan epithet: (Joseph) "the crowned one"), and there became visible a whitish mole on his brow. In several places in Jewish literature there are notes indirectly to the effect that the brethren at times wondered at Joseph because of certain of his features which seemed vaguely familiar to them.

Joseph revealed himself as Joseph their brother adding "and this is my brother." This little aside would appear strange in the context if it were not that the same occurs in BR 93.8 and elsewhere. But in these sources we are told that Joseph addressed himself to his brothers in Hebrew as well. In the Biblical record (Gen. xlv. 7 ff.) Joseph is said to have made himself known to the brethren alone, the brothers being greatly terrified when he did so. Likewise in the Surah, Joseph spoke tenderly to them they referred to his exalted position over them and to their own crimes. He actually told them that God had forgiven them and that they need not feel fearful because of their misdeeds. It is not surprising that the dialogue in the Surah should resemble that in the Bible, though the setting of the visit is different. For this was the spiritual highlight of the whole Joseph story, in that when he revealed himself with the result that they were terrified at the possible consequences to themselves, he kindly and tenderly forgave them.

Before moving on to their last, i.e. third, return to Canaan, the Qur'ān gives the tradition that Joseph bade them take with them his inner garment, which they were to throw on Jacob's face so that he might recover his sight. He then told them to return with the whole family. Al-Baiḍāwī and others (e.g. Jalāl al-Dīn) tell us that commentators usually take this garment to be the very one Gabriel put on Joseph in the well, and the wonderful tradition is added that since the garment had a heavenly origin it retained the scent of heaven and thus was possessed of so great power that it could cure any person with distemper if that person only touched it. The only reference in the Biblical account on this point of healing is in Gen. xlvi. 4, where God tells Jacob in a dream that Joseph would put his hand upon his eyes.

### F. The Final Return to Canaan.

According to the Qur'ān, the caravan had not reached home before Jacob claimed to smell Joseph. Jalāl al- Dīn tells us that the

scent was that of the garment sent by Joseph and brought to Jacob by the wind and that he smelled it as far away as eighty parasangs, although others, he adds, claim that the distance was three or even eight days' travelling away. In the Biblical account, the story is simply that the brothers arrived and told Jacob about Joseph. Jacob could hardly believe them, until he heard what Joseph had said and saw the wagons sent by Joseph for his transportation to Egypt. In the Surah, after the exchange about Jacob being in his dotage, Jacob's eyes were cured, when the messenger of good tidings (according to Al-Baiḍāwī, Judah) threw Joseph's inner garment over his face. Then Jacob reminded his sons that he had before claimed to have special knowledge from God not possessed by them. The brothers made confession of their sins and Jacob replied that he would intercede for them before God (in Samaritan and Jewish theology Jacob is one of the righteous intercessors).

There is a beautiful Jewish legend, recorded in Hadar, Gen.xlv.26 and other places, which tells that the brothers, when they reached the Canaanite frontier, were worried as to how best to tell Jacob the wonderful news without unduly exciting him. Nearing their dwelling-place they saw Serah, the beautiful daughter of Asher, and they called on her to play the harp and sing the news before Jacob. This she did several times and Jacob became pleasurably excited and his joy aroused the holy spirit in him and he realised that what Serah was singing was fact, but even when his sons arrived before him he could hardly realise that their joyful tidings were true. He only believed them when they repeated certain words of Joseph. Then began preparations for the journey to Egypt.

### G. Joseph's people go to Egypt

In the Surah, the journey is not mentioned and all we read is that they came into the presence of Joseph. Al-Baiḍāwī tells how Joseph sent carriages and provisions for his father and the rest of the family and that he and Pharaoh went forth to meet them in person. He tells us that the number of Israelites who entered Egypt was seventy-two. In the Biblical account (Gen.xlvi.26-27) the figure is seventy, including Joseph's sons. In Gen. xlvi,28 ff., the account of the meeting is somewhat different from that given by Al-Baiḍāwī, for we read that Jacob sent Judah ahead and that Joseph went up to meet Jacob by chariot; they met in Goshen (where the Israelites were subsequently to live and multiply until the Exodus).

Joseph received "his parents" unto him. At first sight the mention of parents is strange, since Jacob's wife was no longer alive, but Al-Baiḍāwī conjectures that they were Jacob and Leah, Joseph's mother's sister. Another view is that the reference to Joseph's parents brings these events into line with the prediction of the dream. But Talmud: Berakhot 55a-b reads; "a dream may be partly fulfilled, but never in

its entirety, as may be seen from Joseph who dreamed that his mother would appear before him and yet she had already been dead." Rashi (on Gen.xxxvii.10) and other traditions suppose the woman in question to be Bilhah and that her appearance here is asserted to be the fulfilment of the same dream.

Then the Surah continues, telling of Joseph welcoming his family to Egypt. We read that "he raised his parents to the seat of state and they fell down bowing themselves before him." In Jewish tradition Joseph presented his family to Pharaoh (i.e. the seat of state) and, according to the Jerus. Targ. on Gen.xlvii.2, Joseph first of all presented only the weakest of his brethren in case Pharaoh should be tempted to hold them as warriors in Egypt's service. The Genesis account tells that Joseph informed Pharaoh that his family and their possessions were in Goshen and he took five of his brethren and presented them to Pharaoh; later Jacob himself was presented.

Al-Baiḍāwī's interesting comment here that there is supposed to be a transposition in the words and that Joseph seated his parents after they had bowed down to him, not before, seems to be connected with the tradition (Jerus. Targ. on Gen.xlvi.29) in which we read that Joseph unwittingly allowed Jacob to bow down first. Since it was later that Joseph presented Jacob "at the seat of state," Al-Baiḍāwī's comment may have point.

Joseph then addresses his father in a way that suits well the Quranic meaning of the Joseph story. Joseph assured his father that here was the interpretation of his former vision (of the sun and moon and eleven stars bowing down to him). He praised God for His kindness and ended his speech with the plea: "Make me to die a Muslim."

This is all we hear of Joseph in the Surah, but Al-Baiḍāwī gives a report on the end of Joseph's life, how Jacob remained twenty four years in Egypt and at his death ordered that his body be buried in Palestine with Isaac's. Joseph performed this and himself died twenty three years later in Egypt. Further details of Joseph's burial need not concern us here, since the Surah makes no reference to Joseph's passing, but Al-Baiḍāwī rounds off his commentary on the Surah by adding that when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt he took Joseph's coffin and transported his bones to Canaan where they were buried with those of his ancestors.

The only other tradition which refers to Joseph is in Surah xl. (The Believer), where a man of Pharaoh's family (a believer) addresses Pharaoh, about to kill Moses, thus: "Moreover, Joseph had come to you previously with clear signs, but you did not stop doubting about the message which he brought to you, until on his death you said: 'God will in no wise raise up an apostle after him.' " Pharaoh continued in his evil ways.

## Concluding Remarks

It has several times been observed above that the Qurʾān shows little concern for actual events where they were not significant for its doctrine. It is clear that emphasis has been laid on features of Joseph's history which might illustrate Divine retribution and providence. Muir takes the view that the Prophet remodelled his materials before delivering them and, so doing, altered the historical sequence. It is true, as we have seen above, that Muḥammad was more concerned with some features of the story than with others, but it is difficult to see ground for Muir's charge. It might be that the Prophet felt that his sources were lacking in spiritual interpretation, and so remoulded them in places. But this, even assuming it a right hypothesis, as most Muslims would not, is far from the "wilful dissimulation and deceit" of which Rodwell, quoting Muir's opinion, speaks.

Did Muḥammad have access to learned Jewish sources for the Joseph story or did he have contact with it, here and there, on his travels? In view of the few occurrences of verbal similarity with Jewish sources, including the Bible, it would seem that he had a learned Jewish source behind him for at least some of the traditions. More we cannot say with certainty. Nor is it wholly convincing to maintain that his information was derived from Jewish traders. However these questions be resolved, Muḥammad inspired in Muslims a great respect for this Jewish figure, who to the Samaritans is King Joseph, one of the Fathers, Joseph the Freed, the Crowned, the Redeemer of his people, the Interpreter of Dreams (Muḥammad's "dark sayings"), the Righteous, the Prophet, Crowned by God to rule over his enemies, his heart full of wisdom and secrets.

In telling of the Glories of God, the Samaritans even today speak of the God of the Three Patriarchs, the King and the Prophet. Thus Joseph comes between the forefathers of Israel and the Prophet (Moses) chosen by God to lead Israel to the chosen land. Without Joseph, then, the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, would have meant little and Moses would not have arisen in Egypt. It is not surprising, with these facts in mind, that the Qurʾān found in Joseph a figure worthy of God's revelation and providence.

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# "CITY OF WRONG." II

There is a story of Anatole France in which he tells of Pontius Pilate and how he dwelt on many cherished memories of his procuratorship of Judaea, but how he could not remember even the name of the insignificant visionary, Jesus, Whom, at one stage in his career, he had sacrificed to appease the Jewish leaders. It is probable that Anatole France was wrong on two counts. For Palestine, being semi-banishment, was hardly likely to afford many cherished memories for Roman administrators. And it is more than likely that Pilate had haunting recollections of that One particular prisoner Whose sentence was as much embedded in Pilate's mind as the fact of his being then the Procurator is embedded in the Christian creed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain, at least, would seem to believe that Pilate then underwent a crisis of decision which was certainly unforgettable in its sharpness and intensity.

But this is to anticipate. The earlier article on *Qaryah Ẓālimah,*[1] the important, recent Muslim study of the passion story of Jesus, broke off before the author's reflections on the consequences for Christianity of the disciples' decision not to 'save' Jesus were complete. This second article opens with the final chapter in the second of the three sections of the book — on the disciples — and concludes with a survey of the third section devoted to the Romans. An effort will be made to assess the deeper meaning for the Christian of this Muslim reckoning with the Cross.

In the Chapter entitled "The Departure of the Disciples," the writer imagines the followers of Jesus dispersing to their rendezvous in Galilee in deep anguish of soul over their abandonment of Jesus, at His own command, to the bitterness of death.

> "Their souls were sorely troubled. They knew that their refraining from the rescue of their Master was certainly right. For He knew the right better than they. The Wise Man, their guest, had promised them that God would raise the Master to Himself and bring Him back to them after some days. Nevertheless, despite all that, the command of their Prophet did not save them from being angry with themselves. Nor did the Wise Man's promise preserve them from the bitterness of reproach over their delinquency concerning the right of their religion. They were consumed with doubt lest this promise had only been given them so that their hearts might not be broken with grief and pain. Their despair made them suspect that God had forbidden them His mercy and withdrawn His compassion because of the wrongs they had done and the evils they had committed." (p. 138)

This mood of self-reproach, the author asserts, has since become symptomatic of Christianity.

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[1] *The Muslim World,* Vol. xlvi. No. 2, April 1956, pp. 132-143. Since the preparation of that article there has appeared a study of *Qaryah Ẓālimah,* by Dr. C. C. Anawati in *Mélanges.* Cairo, Vol. 2, pp. 71-134. "Jesus et Ses Juges d'après La Cité Inique."

"Christians have inherited this fierce sense of wrongness, sin and burdenedness in their hearts...These feelings have continued to pervade Christian thinking. One of the most characteristic features of faithful Christians has come to be their prevailing fear of evil and their apprehensiveness, deterring man from any action in which compromise may be involved. And what deeds are free from compromising evils? Faithful Christians are more eager to avoid wrongdoing than they are to promote good. Their fear of wrong is more powerful than their concern for justice. Their dread of the fire of Hell is greater than their effort to attain the garden of Paradise."

"Furthermore, they are more prone to prohibit the unlawful than to command the good. In their exhortation they enjoin abstention from evil more than admonition to good. In this manner negativism has overcome all their actions in those periods when Christianity has been most worshipful and pious. These are natural characteristics of all religions but they are most manifest in Christianity. It is strongly established in their creeds that man is permeated with evil until he is cleansed. It may well be that the major source of this situation lies in what the disciples were compelled to, that desperate day." (p. 139).

The writer proceeds at this point into one of his favorite themes: the role of the community in evil and in good. He argues that communities as such embrace evil more readily than individuals do. For when society chooses evil the persons within it share the guilt so that no one really feels himself separately guilty. They may also plead that even if they had not participated, the deed would have been committed anyhow. Contrariwise, society does not readily do corporate good because each individual is keen to have credit for it and so does not easily act as part of a whole. A failure to do good is not so readily blamed by the one on the whole as is a committal of actual wrong, since the individual still feels culpable for his omissions and regrets the forfeited glory he might have brought upon himself.

This reasoning is invoked to explain why the disciples went away from Jerusalem each burdened with a personal sense of failure.

"Each of them groaned under the burden of this shame. It crushed their shoulders and tormented their consciences. Their first concern was a pre-occupation of mind over their sins. The thought of inwardly ruminating on the sins of the whole intensified in their minds. This is one of the strongest elements in the Christian creed. The command that had gone out to them was a reason why they believed that negative action — even if it did not satisfy the human soul — was at any rate submissive and reverential towards God and thus the surest guarantee of preservation from rebelliousness." (p. 140-141.)

This sense in the disciples that they had both refrained from an evil and somehow in doing so committed one seems to be the thought the author wishes to identify as the crux of this agonising moment. But is he not rather carrying back into his effort at analysis a subsequent — and rooted — prejudice about the alleged sin-complex of the Christian mind? Were there not other factors that go deeper? — sheer personal sorrow at the sudden, sinister turn in events; the fearful jeopardy of their Master; and their own utter bewilderment about the safety of One Who had renounced being safe and so had disarmed the only intelligible form of devotion at that moment, namely fight and action. Can the author have it both ways? Either Jesus was wrong in His decision and the disciples right in their reproach at not seeking to

save Him against Himself. Or Jesus was right in His willingness to suffer and they were wrong in their sharp, explicable, but still miscalculated, conviction of a duty left undone. There is need to go deeper than the disciples — whose reactions can only be assessed in the light of the larger truth of the Cross. We must reckon with all the meanings of redemptive love before we can adequately discover the sources of the Christian sense of sin. That awareness of human wrongness takes its rise, not from any reproach of the disciples over what they failed to do in their predicament, but from the representative character of the evil that came together to the deed when Jesus was put to death.

The rest of the final chapter on the disciples is disappointing. It merges into a somewhat academic discussion of the theory of evil that impresses as unreal and artificial at such a juncture, or, at least, lacking in the sureness of poetic touch the author shows himself possessed of elsewhere in the story. On their weary, despairing road from Jerusalem, the disciples are witnesses of an act of Roman brutality in a procession that passes by. A chain of slaves is being led down to the coast for shipment to Rome where the eternal city will exult in the tokens of her triumphs she finds in their enslavement. In custody of able-bodied guards — former slaves who have been recruited for their physique into gladiatorial games — the captives march chained hand to hand. One unfortunate staggers under his wretchedness and when flogging fails to mend him falls down helpless on the ground. Spurred by irritated officers, the guard tries in vain to break off the manacles and finally, with a quickness of wit calculated to please a Roman, he cuts off the wretch's hands and flings him aside on the edge of the road. The procession proceeds, a chain of slaves dragging a chariot, with a gap marked only by a grisly pair of hands.

One of the horrified disciples cries out at the retreating column but his charge of bestiality is lost upon the unheeding Romans. The disciples tend the victim but he has passed beyond their power to aid him. They fall to bitter thoughts upon this spectacle of horror which momentarily divert their minds from their own immediate grief. Why do men suffer unjustly? Why do the wicked doers prosper? "Why has man the will and power to make his fellow mourn?" Why are we in each other's power to this tragic point? There are, we are told, two schools of thought in this issue. There are those who argue that since God is just it must be that the suffering ones really deserve to suffer. They must have done evils of which their sympathisers are unaware and likewise with the seemingly wicked — their prosperity is explained by good deeds for the sake of which God relents about their evils. God after all knows more about men's deeds, both good and ill, than we do. Men in the end are really getting their deserts and to think otherwise is blasphemy. But another school of thought finds this reasoning inacceptable. We must not attribute to the oppressed sins they have not committed nor to the oppressors a repentance they do not

show. To derive everything from God is to cause people to doubt both God and religion.

Though even the disciples did not understand it, the solution of the problem requires that we distinguish between two kinds of evil, natural and human, what happens within the world of nature and what happens within human relationships. The first is a realm of order which is not disturbed in the interests of moral discrimination. We should remember that God created the natural and the animal world before He created man. The world is not made to our whims: we are contexted within it. Man is distinguished from the animal world by the fact of conscience alone: not primarily by reason or skill or intelligence. When God breathed into man what He breathed into him was conscience. In this moral realm of man's relationships the law of conscience is finally inexorable, though the consequences of obedience and disobedience do not follow immediately. "But the study of human affairs in their entirety leaves no room for doubt that good is manifestly theirs who follow conscience, while evil is manifestly theirs who transgress the bounds of conscience." (p. 149). "There is thus in the fact of evil and tyranny in the world no cause for the believer to be agitated, nor anything that calls for doubt as to the existence of God as the unbelievers suppose, nor anything bringing doubt upon His power, justice and wisdom as believers fear." (p. 149.) When the disciples reached their place of retreat they took themselves to prayer.

"O God, Thou hast been gracious unto men and hast bestowed conscience upon them. It is a spirit from Thee. Thou hast made its command Thine, its prohibitions Thine. Whosoever obeys it, obeys Thee. He who flouts it, flouts Thee. Thou hast given to us the command to obey it. So keep our deeds within the bounds of conscience. O God, do not let us be encumbered with the things of this world that we transgress the bounds of conscience. O God, inspire humanity so that they are guided by no other. Teach them not to refuse it for any alternative however impressive, to set up no idols outside it to be worshipped or esteemed as good. For there is no good beyond conscience. O God, guide those who have authority over human affairs that they establish no order that will compel men to transgress conscience, they inflict no hasty penalty on others in the path of what they think will be for the ultimate benefit of society. For this is a source of calamity to mankind and a spring of evil within them. O Lord, Thou hast given conscience no material force to compel men to follow it reluctantly, so give them within themselves a spiritual compulsion which will make them follow it out of choice and pleasure. This will bring tyranny to nought: the abolition of wrong and evil will empower the faith of men and will guide them into the right path. O God, guide Thy servants for they have gone almost irretrievably astray. Thou art the Hearer, the Answerer." (p. 149-150.)

These petitions are certainly a *cri de coeur*. But are they what the disciples in the immediate tragedy of their separation from a condemned Master would likely have uttered? For they are concerned in the end with a reflective reaction to the wrong done in the Cross, rather than with the majesty of the willing Sufferer Who proclaimed an ultimacy beyond that of conscience — the ultimacy of love. Shall we finally measure the Cross as, from the human side, a philosophical problem of men's false choices, or as, from Christ's side, a spiritual affirmation of

the invincibility of redemptive grace? Did the Cross save the dying brigand because he came to terms with his flouted conscience or because he discerned the Kingdom of the Crucified? Has the ethical insistence here on the centrality of conscience missed the secret of the Cross as forgiveness — the forgiveness that restores and saves? To this point we must return. When the New Testament listens to the disciples at prayer it is after the Resurrection.

With this imagined reconstruction of their discovery of conscience, Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain leaves the disciples and turns to the Romans. The scene opens in a military camp. A Roman commander stationed in Jerusalem is discovered ruminating on the sovereignty of discipline in the Roman scheme. He is not brutal, he tells himself, for brutality's sake. Discipline is all and justifies whatever is necessary to instil and sustain it. He has been uneasily aware of late of a certain criticism from his troops. There has been some implicit questioning of his orders. A less licentious soldiery seems to be correspondingly more thoughtful. These tendencies are dangerous and he resolves on some drastic example-making to bolster that unquestioning discipline which is the crux of all else militarily and imperially. A young soldier absent without leave is arraigned and when he returns an abusive, drunken answer, is sentenced to fifty lashes. The sentence is remorselessly executed. The soldier is carried away by his friends while the legionary who has inflicted the punishment feels a certain animal ferocity satisfied. Such toughening makes for good aggressive fighting men: the glory of Rome is advanced when her sons are steeled to find a vengeful recompense for the pains of discipline.

The commander is ambitious, eager for promotion. He determines to stiffen his battalions and extirpate the secret propagators of the spirit of peace by launching a punitive expedition against a city in whose market-place there has been a reported slandering of Caesar. This admittedly is no more than a pretext but it suffices. An orator harangues the army before the attack calling upon every man to do his duty and assuring those who die that they will live in the immortal glory of Rome. The rousing call to a Roman *Jihād,* falls, however, on somewhat jaded ears. A rebellious group scorns his arguments. Its members fall to discussing the vainglory of war and the deceits of jingoism. Such orators grow bold only in the lives of others: they exult in sacrifice only when it is not their own. Let those who find war noble die first in the ranks. As for the immortality of the glorious dead, who ever remembers them? Do we not erect memorials to unknown warriors, lauding those whom we do not trouble even to identify? The politicians always escape: if wars are lost they do not die; if they are won still the rulers bask in the glory. The idea of victory as glory is a deluded invention that impresses only the feeble-minded. Neither is victory glory, nor disaster shame. If individual soldiers would refuse to go into battle that would be the end of wars.

One speaker suggests there may be a distinction between defensive and aggressive wars and holds that what is wrong is when a single soldier is found with aggressive intent outside the border of his own nation. Another conjectures that war is unavoidable so long as no country can risk trusting its neighbours. One, however, goes so far as to suggest that if one nation would take the creative step of repudiating war the power of this great idea would prevail. But for the most part the rank and file were eagerly anticipating the new expedition, for the booty and excitement it will bring.

The attack against the city begins and is repulsed. At length it becomes evident that a prolonged siege must be mounted. One night as the siege intensifies, a patrol of three Romans discovers a secret defile below the mountain on one side of the beleaguered city, through which vital supplies are passing to the people. They are engaged by a guard patrol of the citizens, which also numbers three. In the scuffle two on each side are killed. The surviving Roman is a Christian — the ertswhile lover of Mary Magdalene whose story was told earlier. He is left in sole possession of the vital secret, the disclosure of which to his commander can ensure the victorious climax of the siege and condemn the citizens to slavery. But he has the more immediate preoccupation of the wounded survivor of the city's patrol. He might have despatched him without mercy, but has no heart to do so. Face to face in the darkness he finds a common humanity transcending the demands of a war that makes no sense. He befriends the astonished soldier, tends his wounds and carries him into the city.

The people within in their turn are confronted with a sharp dilemma. Shall they let this Roman go back to his camp with the secret of their vital life-line which he must in duty reveal to his commander and so seal their fate? The gesture of kindliness, some argue, is no more than a ruse to spy out their condition. For Romans are never kind. But other counsels reason that the kindly soldier knew all he needed to know before he brought in the wounded man. It would, moreover, be shameful to return his amazing kindness with ill will or death. These counsels prevail and the Christian Roman is allowed to return to his camp, where he keeps his crucial secret to himself.

The siege drags on, while the commander becomes ever more impatient for the glory that eludes him, the glory of conquest. Besiegers and besiegers begin to fraternize a little and in time rumours of the soldier's action spread back from the citizens to the Romans. When the commander becomes aware of it, he is livid with anger. Having little difficulty in ascertaining the identity of the culprit — for these ideas of unRoman gentleness are rare enough — he resolves upon an exemplary punishment of the Christian soldier. The trial is set for the same fateful Friday. Soliloquizing on its eve, the commander justifies the extreme penalty as something required by the demands of Roman discipline. Truly he will gain too, in mastery and the thrill of

power and office. But it is Rome that must be preserved. If it were not he, another would do the same in the name of Rome. Let him, therefore, reap the advantages of his dutiful devotion to the empire that rules his soul and decides her own good.

So the 'trial' opens in the presence of the commander, an Athenian philosopher and the apprehensive fellow soldiers of the traitor. A prosecutor inveighs against the stupid folly that sets the glory of Rome at the mercy of baseless notions of peace. The prisoner is not a coward, nor a craven hearted deserter. He is a baser traitor because he obeys ideas which would be destructive of the whole empire and which — horror of horrors — he has gathered from a swinish Jewish woman, the disciple of a visionary. In his defense the traitor protests that he has betrayed no one. Is it treachery to repudiate the vain ideas of martial might that curse soldiers and victims alike? Is it treachery to have renounced the slavery of those who build their pride on the bones of innocent men? Growing bolder in his challenge, the Christian soldier calls upon his listeners to demand that no war be launched without the consent of the men who will fight in it and be killed, that no army shall trespass outside its own frontiers and that those who declare the necessity of war first be put to death.

The commander professes not to fear the threat to discipline of these audacious words. He holds they have no more power to turn back the course of nature and the inevitability of war than the stones that are borne down by a surging torrent. Since the enemy will never accept the risk of abandoning to fight, we can never safely do so. Such too is the prevailing reaction of the mass of the hearers. Finally the traitor is sentenced to be pulled apart by war-horses ridden by practised riders around the *mīdān*. The fearful verdict is duly executed in the presence of the army. The mass of those present were momentarily horrified but it was not long before most of them lapsed into their customary acquiescence in things as they are, forgetting the tremendous gesture of protest of which they have been eye-witnesses. But a few voices were raised in defiant or shocked anger against the harrowing of a man who had only obeyed his conscience and done good.

The scene passes to Pilate and the last act. The Governor is described as a man of integrity of mind, receptive to some of the ideas of Greek philosophy and of Hebrew religion, a Roman in his hardness yet not immoderate in temper. The chapter only skirts the issue as between Pilate and the Prisoner. The Governor that day was oppressed with the fact that the Jews had required him to sentence a Man in Whom he found no wrong.

"He knew that they were wrong and that he was too. But he did not see that he should resist them in what they had determined in a matter that concerned them alone. Nor did he wish to give them any opening to accuse him concerning his rule. He did not see that he should allow his love of justice to expose his authority to a conspiracy the ill effects of which would recoil upon himself. So he was obliged to yield to them what they demanded. But he was angry with them and ill at ease with himself." (p. 191).

In this mood of restlessness, he is visited by the Greek philosopher who had witnessed the brutal execution of the traitor and learns how his commander has been seized with a delirious fever in the wake of that event. The Procurator and the Athenian fall into a discussion which the latter opens by deploring the severity of the commander's sentence against the soldier. Pilate retorts that philosophic considerations of moderation always fall on deaf ears because the real decisions of men take place outside the detached attitude philosophy enjoins. Men of action act before they can apply philosophic criteria like that of the golden mean. These are always *ex post facto* and have little weight with the practical man. Nor are religious leaders any better. Indeed, Pilate despairs ever again of finding valid guidance from religion.

> "Do you not see how the Jews, being the most meticulous of people in the following of their religion's doctrines, consider the lighting of a candle on the Sabbath a heinous crime, while the crucifying of the Preacher of this new message is a duty positively enjoined by fidelity to religion and nation!" (p. 194).

Indeed, at the end of the exchange — which flounders somewhat in an inappropriate comparison of scientific and religious hypotheses — Pilate insists that he is no longer the man he was yesterday. He has lost all confidence in the possibility of right guidance. The philosopher is convinced that the Governor has suffered a deep disillusionment, that the Jews have brought him to despair of truth, that there is no longer for him any choice save to surrender himself to the Roman way of life in the sole dimension of power and pleasure. The philosopher goes out to Calvary to see the end. He reaches the crown of the hill as the landscape darkens a little before noon.

A wild tempest breaks with hail and gathering clouds and high winds. Many Jews are fearful that the natural darkness portends grave dangers to their nation, whereas the Romans are jocular and merry, holding that there is no sinister significance to these events. A little group on Golgotha includes the Roman guard, a few women, a leading man from Jerusalem come to witness the end of the heresy and the heretic, (he had earlier disputed with the merchant who had been injured at the blacksmith's forge), the Wise Man of Bethlehem and the philosopher of Athens and the little shepherdess with whose early rising the book had opened.

The author thus gathers several of his main figures around the Cross and has them debate the meaning of the darkness. The shepherdess remembers some threatened punishment she heard her mother speak of and supposes jinns and foul spirits. The Romans are sure the darkness is the weather and that it will quickly end. The women see in it a Divine assertion of the crime of the crucifixion. The Jewish leader is fearful and reckons the shadows a proof of Jesus' being truly a prophet. The representative of the Magi declares that this darkness is God raising Jesus, Who is the light of God upon earth, unto Himself. It

is the sign that He has withdrawn from men the light of faith and the guidance of conscience. The philosopher, however, holds that this is unsubstantiated. He cannot see how unbelief is a factor able to gather clouds in the sky.

The two men pursue a dialogue about the possibility or otherwise of spiritual significance in material phenomena. The abstruseness of the discussion in such a context is not a little depressing. A blush in the cheeks denotes shyness, which is intangible; but the blush is in the flesh, which is material. Reason that forbids to faith its awareness of the supernatural is like forbidding men the warmth of a fire until they can understand combustion. This perception of the truth of supranatural things is what distinguishes man from the beasts. This is what was breathed into Adam when he became the first man. This is the reality of which Moses became the prophet, and also, most wisely, the statesman-servant, going beyond prophethood to leadership. But the philosopher remains sceptical about the validity of the symbolic, while the Magi assures him that the meaning of that day and that darkness will be debated — and divisive — for long centuries. Finally the darkness wanes and the sun re-appears. Each person, save the repentant Jew, is left where he was when the darkness supervened. The shepherdess still believes in jinns, the women in God's sign of wrath, the soldiers in the weather and the philosopher in the invalidity of spiritual interpretations. How can the darkness symbolize evil, when the darkness passes and the evil abides?

Assured that in the darkness God has raised Christ to heaven the Magi keeps his rendezvous with the disciples in Galilee. The latter, still hardly knowing what they had done in letting Jesus die, are in the deepest despair. The Magi assures them that they and their followers will be the heralds of the new faith to the ends of the earth. The essence of this they will find in the sermon on the mount. Truly this exceeds the capacities of most men. But the disciples must follow it with a special devotion. The Wise Man goes on to tell them how, on returning to their own land after listening to the sermon, he and his fellow Magi assiduously studied and weighed the discourse. His findings form the last chapter of *Qaryah Ẓālimah*. Here the author reiterates the main emphases of his analysis of the passion story. Men shall not kill and no man shall arrogate to himself the right to make murder valid in the name of religion, nation, security or ideal. "He who uses armed force or oppresses men under plea of defending religion places religion above God Who has enjoined love not slaying." (p. 217). God is capable enough of defending His own religion: He does not need to be rescued by sinful men! Such assumed defense on our part is really the defense of our own prestige. Similarly vain and hypocritical are pleas for violence in the name of the state. Slaughter begets slaughter. To God alone belongs the right to take life.

The Kingdom of Heaven is for the lowly and the penitent: this must

be proclaimed to the proud and the complacent. The holy law forbids the sinful passions and calls men to contentment and mutual love. It prohibits idolatry and the sin of association with God. In this precept the law does not merely mean to debar the worship of stones and images. For this passes by exercise of man's natural reason. The prohibition of *shirk,* or association with God, covers very much more. Ideas, nationalisms, freedoms, laws, culture — these become our idols and usurp the place of God by trampling down the inner conscience.

"Indeed, he who worships religion itself in such a way as to transgress the limits of conscience and wrongs men in the name of the protection of his religion, he is surely guilty of *shirk* against God." (p. 223.)

The cult of the community over against the individual is idolatry. Theft, too, must be understood in the widest, social sense. Love is the secret of all piety: the root of all good.

The Magi warns the disciples of several dangers that beset their path. He fears that they may not always discern between the root and the branches, that over-zealousness may misguide them, that men may turn from truth and the disciples fail to relate it adequately to the people who have the capacity of faith. For the Wise Man believes apparently in a kind of aristocracy of goodness, inasmuch as the principles of the good life are too high for many men. But he exhorts the disciples to be plain and direct in their preaching. There is also the danger that men will turn to religion for inappropriate reasons.

"People will demand of you that religion should prevent the oppressor from oppressing: they will require you to be on the look out against the wrongdoers and to give men a system that will condemn evil-doing. But that is not the business of religion. For religion has to do with conscience and society as such has no conscience. Religion can only influence the social and political order indirectly. It influences communities insofar as it influences individuals...For religion to try to substitute one system for another is not its work. The new order will soon be in need of change, for systems generate, mature and pass away for reasons outside religion and beyond the power of the individual. If religion were to set up some system of life, which people then saw fit to abandon for another, that would do away with respect for religion and with the will of the people to obey it even in its most intimately religious precepts." (p. 227.)

For the external order is necessarily in constant change whereas religion has to do with the unchanging. So the two have no real relation to each other.

The Magi concludes that the most powerful sources of evil in men are association with God, *shirk,* unruly passions and the atrophy of love. He enthuses the disciples with a warm zeal: their despair is overcome in a new surge of purposeful hope. "They resolved to show men an example therein such as history had never previously seen. They spread abroad into the earth calling unto truth."

Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain adds his final reflections in a brief *khātimah.* Man is a trinity of body, mind and spirit. Each of these need to be appropriately related to the other. The physical vital force must be ruled by reason. But both are to be disciplined by the rule of

conscience, with its salvation from the threefold evils of *shirk* in every form, the ungoverned passions and the denial of love. For these three are the salient lessons of the story of that dark Friday in man's history. So *Qaryah Ẓālimah* concludes:

"In the events of that Friday all the factors in evil and sin were present, and every day of life its tragedy is repeated. Then let men take cognisance of what these factors are and eschew them. For then they will find before them a wide liberty in the doing of good and come to the happiness and delight of a good and gracious life." (p. 234.)

What postcripts would a Christian reader want to add, beyond a spontaneous gratitude for so careful and reverent a Muslim study of Good Friday? Perhaps a rather wistful series of questions about the silences of the book. For, with all its interest and insight, one cannot suppress the feeling that the book has not really taken the measure of its theme. Maybe what we need it a longer patience. But short of some later completion, what is it that remains wanting? Or, in other words, what would such a further completion include?

Has the author, in the first place, really faced the issue of the historicity of the Cross? Perhaps it may be claimed that he does not need to, since his main concern is with the passions that went into the sentence. But when he takes us to Calvary is it really Jesus Who is there? Is the darkness the veil that conceals the Quranic *rafaʿahu Allāh,* "God raised Him to Himself?" Or is it the darkness in which Jesus is redemptively at grips with sorrow and sin? Is the good news that the Wise Man here commissions the disciples to proclaim only good news of a great sermon? Is their returning gladness only born of a sense of destiny and not also of a sense of deliverance? Was theirs only a rendezvous with an interpreting Magi or with a victorious Master?

It would seem that the writer goes a long way to allowing that it was veritably Jesus Who suffered. Pilate certainly is not distressed here about a substituted prisoner, nor is the penitent Jewish ringleader at the Cross brought to a new mind from reflection on a darkness in which the real Prophet is not thought of as enveloped. It may, of course, be argued that since the supposed substitution of another for Jesus remains, on Quranic hypothesis, unknown to the actors, the picture of their concern remains persuasive, they being in ignorance of Jesus' rapture unto God. But this will hardly do, inasmuch as the author has laid so much weight on the mistakenness of the defiance of conscience displayed in Jesus' condemnation. To have explicitly denied that this condemnation was *really* suffered would have jeopardized the whole moral structure on which *Qaryah Ẓālimah* is built. Yet the author nowhere explicitly affirms it. He remains himself within the shadows here, allowing us to think as we will about the vexed question, between Muslim and Christian meditation at the Cross, as to whether there was a changed identity at some point between the garden and the end. Maybe this 'allowance' is all we can expect. But the question remains whether

it is all that is needed for the central concern of *Qaryah Ẓālimah* to stand.

Another aspect of Christian wistfulness is for a more direct reckoning with Jesus Himself in this book. Though the central Figure, He remains like a shadow in the wings. No other actor is directly confronted by Him. He speaks vicariously through a Magi or a messenger. The dilemmas of the mufti, and the prosecutor, of Caiaphas and Pilate, concerning Him, are depicted without Him. And in the case of Pilate, more of the questions revolve around the treatment meted out by his commander to a traitor in the ranks, than to his own decision on the judgement seat. And when we stand around the Cross, there is no eye for the beauty of the Sufferer's compassion. Rather we are treated to a somewhat jarring disquisition about the relative amenability to proof of different types of truth. Indeed, the soteriological meaning of the Cross finds no echo here. The author does not explore its relevance to the central business of the good life, for which he relies so heavily on the power of conscience. The great themes of forgiveness — of a forgivingness which generates forgiven-ness — are absent. There is no echo of the words from the Cross, all of which are profoundly meaningful for the understanding of that darkness which the philosopher and the Magi so prosaically debate. Perhaps, after all, the place of Jesus' crucifixion is not appropriately a *zāwiyah*? At least if we do talk beneath it, we need to be open to all the areas of its significance, to sin and its redemption, as well as to conscience and its problems. For the Cross of Jesus is not only what men did in their misguidedness. It is also from the other side what Jesus did in His grace, and what God did in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself. These dimensions are the final context of all that within his own chosen bounds the author gives us.

Perhaps we may see the other side of these same thoughts in the writer's conviction that obedience to conscience is the clue to good. He does not appear to wrestle with the possibility of a satisfied conscience which is yet astray, nor with the capacity of men to be at peace with their consciences when they are yet at war with God. Is conscience all, or do we need an inward re-making? Has the Cross only to do with a pattern of disobedience to conscience? Or does it relate also to the redemption of the repentant?

No author is, of course, to be blamed for his silences unless they are wilful. No such charge is here intended. Every author moves within the bounds of his own hypotheses. Within them, Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain has produced a reverent and remarkable work, with, among other things, a most stimulating assessment of the real meaning of *shirk*. But whether the hypotheses were big enough and total enough for the theme is the question that abides. This book itself may have brought some in the fellowship of Islam nearer to asking it. For it is a moving enquiry into: "What happened at the Cross?".

ᶜAbd al-Tafāhum.

# JALĀL UD-DĪN RŪMĪ AND SHAMS-I-TABRĪZĪ
## WITH CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN TRANSLATION

Jalāl ud-Dīn Muḥammad is known in the East as Maulana or Maulavi, in the West as Rūmī. He was born in Balkh, in what is now the north of Afghanistan, in 604 AH/1202 A.D. When he was six years old his father, Bahā ud-Dīn Walad, a teacher and theologian of note, decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Differences between Bahā ud-Dīn and the local authorities, notably the ruler, Muḥammad Quṭb ud-Dīn Khwarazmshah [1], made his decision to go to Mecca politically advisable as well as commendable on religious grounds. He began a period of travels which lasted throughout his son's most impressionable years. They visited the main cultural centres of the Near East and finally settled at Qoniya (Iconium) in Asia Minor. There Jalāl ud-Dīn's sumptuous tomb may still be seen.

One of the first places visited on the journey was Nishapur in the Iranian province of Khorasan. Here the travellers paid their respects to Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār. This great mystic gave Jalāl ud-Dīn a copy of his book, *The Book of Mysteries* (*Asrarnameh*) and said to Bahā ud-Dīn, "It won't be long before this boy of yours kindles the wicks of the world" [2].

After Nishapur the family went to Baghdad where Bahā ud-Dīn spent three days in the Mustanṣiriyyah [3] with Shaikh Shahāb ud-Dīn Suhravardī, another of the great mystics of the age. By the time the family finally settled in Qoniya, Jalāl ud-Dīn had married and appears to have been prepared to follow in his father's footsteps as a teacher, in which capacity he succeeded him, when still quite a young man, after his father's death.

It seems clear that up to this time Jalāl ud-Dīn had been successfully apprenticing himself in the sciences of the day to become an authority in the accepted scholastic tradition. During Bahā ud-Dīn's lifetime it does not seem likely that his son's training had gone much beyond that of a competent scholastic. After Bahā ud-Dīn's death another teacher took in hand Jalāl ud-Dīn's spiritual training. This

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[1] Aflaki, cited by Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Dīvānsi Shamsi Tabriz*, Cambridge 1898 and 1952, Introduction page XVI, states that Bahā ud-Dīn attacked the Khwarazmshah's "innovations." Dawlatshah in the *Tadhkirah al-Shuᶜarāᵓ* says the departure was necessitated by the Khwarazmshah's jealousy of Bahā ud-Dīn's success as a preacher and professor.

[2] Dawlatshah, cited by Dr. Sadiq Guharin of Teheran University in his Introduction to Fazlullāh Garakanī's *Selection from the Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī*, Teheran 1332/1953.

[3] The ruins of this College have recently carefully been restored by the Iraq Government Antiquities Department. They are one of the few remains of ᶜAbbasid Baghdad extant. Hulagu may have deliberately ordered the Mustanṣiriyyah to be preserved as it was there he questioned the *ᶜUlamāᵓ* (Al-Fakhrī, Chapter 1).

was Sayyid Burhān ud-Dīn Muḥaqaq Tirmizī, himself a former pupil of Bahā ud-Dīn's. He had been living in Khorasan and was forced to leave that region by the increasingly serious inroads of the Mongols.

## Islam and Iranian Mysticism

Islam came into Iran with the conquering Arab armies in the 7th Century A.D. Its desert adherents brought a new religious force into lands accustomed for a long time to high forms of civilization and complex systems of government. These were in striking contrast to the simplicity of the regime inaugurated by the Prophet Muḥammad. The impact of this new and relatively simple prophecy on the minds of subtle and intelligent peoples raised problems both for the original propagandists and for the converted. The religion itself had to undergo an intricate series of adjustments, designed to retain the essential doctrine unimpaired and at the same time adapt it to new organisational requirements on an imperial scale and to the needs of already highly cultured people. The process resulted in a spiritual and intellectual tension never finally resolved after the initial rapid acceptance of the new faith. Mysticism does not belong exclusively to any one people and in Islam it did not only arise in the Iranian provinces [4]. Iranian manifestations of it, however, in no small degree reveal either vigorous reaction against the alien religious institution or an attempt to extend the precepts of Islam in a way the latter did not originally provide for.

Islam as a code of behavior attempts to cater for every detail of human activity. This was laudable in an institution designed to inculcate principles of just and clean living in a community of polytheistic, heterogeneous and unsettled tribes. More, however, was required in their religious life by settled peoples and it would be difficult to sustain the argument that Islam in its primitive form adequately answered the needs of these people with their broader, spiritual horizons and more agile minds. They had already propounded or been familiar with the numerous philosophical conceptions current in the Near East and beyond before and immediately after Christ. They were thus accustomed to theories of the immanence of the Deity and other theories showing a marked advance on earlier Semitic religion, with its anthropomorphic, jealous and vengeful God separate from, but controlling, the world. Also the people of Iran and Asia Minor had a folklore which, being that of cultivated lands, differed radically from the traditions of a waterless desert, mainly inhabited by warrior tribes with the exception of a few merchant families on its confines. Yet such was the initial force of Islam that the conquered people submitted. Or conversely such was their disillusionment, and failure to find a satisfactory so-

[4] One of its greatest exponents in Islam, Ibn al-ᶜArabī, was born in Spain; though this in itself is not without significance.

lution to religious and social problems, that they readily accepted the comparatively simple faith that came with the sword, though it was not actually forced by the sword on those who were considered to be recipients of a former (but incomplete) revelation. The Zoroastrians of Iran were not, however, in this category.

This is not the place to enter into discussion of how far submission to Islam was induced by terror and how far it was due to a number of other factors, including, of course, the nonconverts' disabilities before the law and government resulting in an economic disparity which would encourage conversion among the wealthier classes if social disparities did not also. The fact concerning us here is the schizophrenia in certain personalities that resulted from the widespread acceptance of Islam and a culture with its roots in the *Jāhiliyyah* of a nomadic people as the dominant religious, social and political institution. Of these personalities Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī is a notable example. They remained in Islam but became in fact apostates in thought.

Isolated examples of mysticism in Islam occurred very soon after the death of the Prophet and the beginning of Islam's world mission. The relation between the early Arabian mystics and the Ṣūfīs who appeared later in Iran and Asia Minor seems however a very tenuous one. The former were visionaries while the latter included such great thinkers as Al-Ghazālī. These were systematic in their approach to mysticism and were open to complex philosophical, social and religious influences unknown to the earlier ecstatics. The Iranian Ṣūfīs' background included the cultural heritage of the Near East and eastern Mediterranean as well as the influence nearer home of such potent developments as Ismāʿīlism within Islam itself. The extent to which Ismāʿīlism passed into the phase of mysticism with which we are concerned has yet to be thoroughly explored. Such exploration may lead, among other things, to a better understanding of the composite worldly-other worldly nature of the literature of this mysticism.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the Ṣūfīs were consciously concerned with problems of perception and were aware that man's failure to attain direct contact with Reality is due to his normally limited powers of perception. Therefore they would brook no limiting factor even when this happened to be a formal religious dogma, and one which included a ban on the use of intoxicants, themselves capable of heightening perceptive powers and apparently long accepted in Iran for this purpose in connection with religious practice. Other ways in which the problem of an inadequate religious framework had been met, notably Shīʿī movements, had been severely repressed. The extent to which these Iranian mystics in their turn rejected the established faith is shown in varying degrees of directness throughout their writings. A familiar note is struck by Shams-i-Tabrīzī in the following, taken from his *Maqālāt* [5] where he is comparing his speech with that of the Prophet.

ابن مرد مان راحقست که بسخن من الف ندارند سخنم همه بوجه کبریا میآید — قرآن وسخن محمد همه بوجه نیاز آمده است لاجرم همه معنی مینماید سخنی میشنوید نه درطرف طلب و نه درنیاز ازبلندی بمثابه انکه برمی نگری کلاه میافتد.

"These people are entitled not to have any acquaintance with my words. All my speech comes with divine haughtiness. The Qurʾān and the speech of Muḥammad all came in the guise of supplication. Of course they make sense. You are hearing a discourse neither in the form of petitioning nor of supplication, of such an exalted degree that you look up and your hat falls off."

Implicit in this is the idea of Man not necessarily being separate from God but even capable of speaking for Him. I am indebted to my friend Dr. Gershevitch for pointing out to me that in old Iranian religious theory Man was God's helpmate rather than of necessity a cringing separate entity before an awesome Judge. The nobility of Man may be said to have rested in his ability to choose whether in this world to extend the work of God or not. It seems legitimate to speculate on how far utterances like the one cited above are evidence of a typically Iranian attitude towards Man's relation to a God practically manifesting Himself in a world of light which men may become part of and speak for, if they choose.

Much effort has gone into studying the external origins of Islamic mysticism. This may seem a relatively unnecessary form of study if it is recognized that some human beings have a tendency towards mysticism and, therefore, mystics will appear whatever the milieu happens to be. Undoubtedly among the later Muslim mystics influences must have been present from both India and Greece, Alexandria and Crotona, but it seems unlikely that their influence would be of any more than secondary importance. The Muslim mystics' development would chiefly stem from the nature of their own personalities and circumstances. Coincidences would not necessarily imply genealogies, mysticism being one of those human activities which follow a similar pattern in any time or place, a limited number of variations being induced by environment and whatever local traditions obtain. This is not to say that different schools of mysticism are all *about* the same thing. It would be casuistry to argue that Buddhism, Yogism and Ṣūfism are all about the same quest.

In this instance, however, it seems possible that, though mysticism was certainly a dominant element, mysticism alone was not the whole

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[5] Page 95 of the MS. possessed by Dr. Sadiq Guharin. The text has not been printed.

story. If this is so discussion of genealogies for this development is not only justified but also necessary for a proper understanding of it. The genealogy would seem to begin with Ismāʿīlism as the nearest ancestor and go back to pre-Islamic Iranian religious theories. These in their turn would provide links with external influences as well as clues to a central pattern of Iranian religious thought which, with variations and through numerous vicissitudes, may be shown to have persisted throughout the cultural history of Iran.

What for our immediate purpose is significant about Iranian mysticism is that in its intensity it can be interpreted as indicative of two factors. First, there was the tension occasioned in certain personalities by adherence to a religion found fundamentally inadequate. Second, there was the turning inwards caused on an unusually wide scale by the economic and political collapse, after a long process of disintegration, of the Eastern Muslim Empire in the 13th century, before the Mongol onslaught. It is commonly held today that the great efflorescence of Persian mysticism was due to the necessity of seeking spiritual satisfaction at a time when the body was subject to all sorts of peril and insecurity. Discussion of the origins of this mysticism may, therefore, be based on the following: inherent Iranian religious tendencies (whose manifestation in Ismāʿīlism had received severe set-backs), which had reached an advanced stage of development before Islam; tension caused by the acceptance of Islam; and the necessity for opening wider the doors of perception into a world beyond that of normal human experience at a time when the latter was full of fear and instability. There was a variety of hardship, want and sheer misery against which only the resources of the spirit could fortify the individual and make it possible to go on living "philosophically" in such circumstances; though to regard the movement as one of "escapism" would be a dangerous oversimplification.

How far in advance of much religious theory this Iranian mysticism was is shown by its adepts' conception of the place of man in the Universe. To many an advanced thinker one of the bars to accepting religion is its frequent treatment of man as the object of the Deity's special compassion and the centre of the Universe. The Iranian mystics were under no such delusions about the importance of man. They were conscious of the ages that had gone before his appearance on earth and repeatedly recalled his insignificance. Ḥāfiẓ says:

در محفلی که خورشید اندر شمار ذرّه است
خودرا بزرگ دیدن شرط ادب نباشد

"In a concourse where the sun counts only as an atom regarding the self as great is not in keeping with sound doctrine."

ʿAṭṭar says.

زمین درجنب ابن نه سقف مینا
چوخشخاشی بود برروی دریا
نگرتا تو دراین خشخاش چندی
بود تا بروت خود بخندی

"Beside these nine variegated heavens
Earth is like a poppy-seed on the face of the ocean;
Observe how much you are in this poppy-seed
And then laugh at your own conceit."

Another feature which makes Iranian mysticism of abiding interest is its literature, one of the greatest the world has seen. Great prose works were written, of the highest order of mystical didactic literature, but above all was the sustained splendor of Ṣūfī poetry. Imagery was brought to an astonishing degree of perfection. How commonly accepted the contemplative attitude was is shown by the universal use in poetry of a language of images developed to express the mystical quest and experience. This became the conventional language of poetry and the preoccupation with the inward quest of the soul seeking God was so widespread that, even when cultured men spoke of other things, the same imagery could be and was employed. This is not surprising, however, when it is remembered that in Islam the dichotomy between the realm of the spirit and the realm of everyday affairs did not exist and that this kind of mysticism was not divorced from life. It was on the contrary a seeking to experience life with a greater fullness on another plane and may also have covered currents of thought in which men's affairs on this earth were quite inextricably mingled with matters commonly accepted as ultra-mundane. As for the widening (or, in Blake's words, the "cleansing") of the doors of perception, the directness, concreteness and brilliance of the imagery of this poetry describe what the heightened perception realises with a power unrivalled in any literature. To talk solely in terms of these poets' seeking to escape from this world is to reveal only a superficial understanding of the processes involved. While their language was basically that of the people, and sometimes downright colloquial, very often their words reflect cognizance of a richer reality beyond the world of the distractions concomitant with normal perception. Nevertheless it seems that it would be wrong to ignore in the Ṣūfī development of 13th century Iran what Minorsky calls "the unofficial Islam" or "the opposition leading a hazardous and hidden life." "Miracles," he says, "and the presence of living incarnations served to comfort the elements which found no justice at the hands of the ruling classes." [6]. He is, of course, speaking specifically

[6] Minorsky: *Iran: Opposition, Martyrdom and Revolt* from *Unity & Variety in Muslim Civilization* edited by Gustave E. Grünebaum, Chicago 1955.

of Shīᶜite movements, but how far was this Iranian Ṣūfism a negative opposition following the repression of more positive movements? Indeed in the *Dīvān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī* there are references enough, both to miracles and to God incarnate.

## Shams-i-Tabrīzī and Jalāl ud-Dīn

In Jalāl ud-Dīn's life it is possible to distinguish three stages. There was first of all the acquisition of orthodox Muslim sciences sufficient to establish him as a teacher. With the teaching of Burhān ud-Dīn Tirmizī it seems possible that his spiritual insight was deepened. Then came the ultimate break with formal faith and the period of poetry (there are no indications of his being a poet before) and Maulana's establishment as founder and director of an order of dervishes.

This period began after the arrival in Qoniya in 1244 A.D. of Shams-i-Tabrīzī. As Dr. Guharin [7] says; "The sun of Perfection, Shams-i-Tabrīzī [8] rose on the horizon of Qoniya and put the finishing touches to that Excellence and Perspicacity" — attributes Rūmī already possessed. Shams-i-Tabrīzī has been somewhat harshly described by some. He was hardly likely to win the approval of either official classes or of those writers writing for the official side. On the other hand, his sympathizers describe him as so self-effacing that he would live in a city for years hidden and unknown, fleeing as soon as his favorite disguise of a quiet merchant traveller was uncovered. For example, it is reported that he once spent a year in Damascus, his only meals being a weekly visit to a cookshop for a bowl of the water a sheep's head had been boiled in and from which the fat had been removed. The cookshop proprietor eventually recognised his customer's spiritual eminence, and, wishing to show his respect, one day gave him a bowl of thick soup and some fresh bread. The holy man, seeing that he was recognised, excused himself on the pretext of going to wash his hands and fled the city.

At Qoniya, however, he seems to have had an inkling that the time had come for him to make a contact of profound importance. Seeing Rūmī when the latter, surrounded by admirers, was riding from one of the Colleges where he taught, Tabrīzī called out to him [9]: "What's the aim of the struggles, repetitions and knowing of knowledge?" Rūmī replied that it was to know the institutions of the *Sunnah* and the *Sharīᶜah*. Tabrīzī answered that those were matters of external, superficial importance. "What else is there?" asked Rūmī, to which Tabrīzī replied quoting Sanaᶜi to the effect that ignorance is much to be

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[7] Dr. Sadiq Guharin, op. cit.

[8] The name may be either *Shams-i-Tabrīzī* or *Shams-i-Tabrīz*. Shams is, of course, an abbreviation of Shams ud-Dīn.

[9] Vide Dawlatshah, *Tadkhirah al-Shuᶜaraᵓ*.

preferred to knowledge not wrested from within oneself [10]. This may, of course, be apocryphal. It is nevertheless significant and, whatever the actual words spoken, the conversation resulted in Maulana's rapid abandonment of the garb and status of professor and his becoming a dervish. His *isti$^{c}$dād* had apparently been recognised by Tabrīzī, to the force of whose *jadhbah* or power of grace, Rūmī quickly succumbed. Tabrīzī was the *Insān al-Kāmil,* the Perfect Man.

Dr. Guharin [11] describes the effect Shams-i-Tabrīzī had on Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī as follows: "Shams-i-Tabrīzī was in reality an all-consuming lightning, its brilliance flashing from the innermost sanctuary of the Invisible, arousing a fervent passion in the clear sky of Maulana's being. Or he was a great tempest that thrashed up against the shores of the quiet ocean of Maulana's soul, changing those waters into a storm-wracked sea from which the jewels treasured in its depth were thrown up to be the prize of seekers after the pearls of Truth so long as the world of mystical significations persists." Jalāl ud-Dīn himself in his Rubā$^{c}$iyyāt says: [12]

زاهد بودم ترانه گویم کردی  میخواره و مست وباده جویم کردی
سجّاده نشین باوقاری بودم  بازیچهٔ کودکان کویم کردی

"I was a devout man, you made me a singer of songs.
You made me a wine-bibber, a drunkard and a sot.
I was a grave man of prayer,
You made me the sport of the boys in my street."

Jalāl ud-Dīn's fellow townsmen were incensed against the "reprobate" they regarded as the cause of the change in their teacher. Shams-i-Tabrīzī was forced to flee. His flight, so far from "curing" Rūmī's infatuation, merely increased it, inspiring some of the most moving poetry that has ever been written. After returning to Qoniya, Shams-i-Tabrīzī was again forced to leave, this time forever. There are tales of his being murdered: of how one night he was sitting with Jalāl ud-Dīn when someone called him outside. He got up saying, "I am called to my death." Outside he was slain. But, however it was, after the last departure he was never seen by mortal eyes again.

The manner of life into which Jalāl ud-Dīn had been so irrevocably drawn required the companionship of a person endued with sufficient grace to be, as it were, a surrogate for God, in whom the Divine

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[10] علم کز تو ترا به نستاند
جهل ازآن علم به بود بسیار

[11] Dr. Sadiq Guharin, op. cit.

[12] This is given in the Isfahan edition of the *Rubā$^{c}$iyyāt* (Bahar 1320/1931/32) as follows, though the text is not considered reliable.

سرفتنهٔ بزم وباده جویم کردی

Beauty could be adored and unity with the Deity achieved. After the loss of Tabrīzī, it seems that two others filled this role during Rūmī's remaining years. One of these, Hussām ud-Dīn Chelebī, is the Chelebī referred to in the poem translated below. He is spoken of in the Preface to the *Masnavī* as the instigator of that work. He succeeded to the direction of Maulavi's Order of Dervishes on Rūmī's death in 1273 A. D., over a decade after the sack of Baghdad by Hulagu Khan.

In the Holy Qur'ān there is more about Divine wrath than Divine love. In this great prophetic utterance the theme is most often the terror that should be present in the minds of the faithful. God is a judge Whom the true believer must face but who is not submitted to in love. His will is submitted to in wonderment at His Omnipotence. All this is very far from the tenderness of the poems of Maulana. The theme of these is one of the most exalted possible — attainment of union with God; it is also the theme dearest to the human heart, love.

دفتر صوفی سواد وحرف نیست  جزدل اسپید همچون برف نیست

زاد دانشمند آثارقلم  زاد صوفی چیست آثارقدم [13]

"The Ṣūfī's writ is not ink and words;
It is nothing but a heart white like snow.
The learned man's provisions for the road
are memorials of the pen.
The Ṣūfī's provision is what? Footmarks." [14]

The poems in the *Dīvān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī* immortalize this love. Sometimes their rhythm reflects the tenderness of a passion that modulates speech to make it convey more than the words alone. They are without the splendid, sustained artifice of the poems of Ḥāfiẓ but have a special natural charm of their own and a peculiar poignancy.

The choice of three poems that follow from this collection was arbitrary, though they represent both the simplicity and the passion of the collection as a whole, while two of them contain certain features of interest for the scholar. Translation of this kind of poetry presents a number of problems. No attempt at translation into verse has been made, because it was felt that this was the business of a poet only and mere versifying was not considered fitting. The latter, moreover, introduces another quality which may be at variance with the quality of the original and, therefore, give a false impression.

The endeavor has been to avoid, as far as possible, introducing too many alien associations, even by the use of words commonly regarded as more "poetic" than others, so that what the original is about may

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[13] *The Masnavi of Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī* edited by Reynold A. Nicholson, Vol. I Persian Text p. 255 lines 159-160.

[14] The footmarks of the Saint following whom in love the Sūfī attains unity with God.

be shown as clearly as possible. This, of course, means the loss of most of the poetic quality of the original. Anyone who is a poet may take these translations and transcribe them into poetry again if he so desires. Further apology is necessary for some of the vocabulary used to translate words that have several possible meanings in addition to the associations they evoke for contemporary Iranians; to say nothing of the associations, the clues to which are now lost, which they must have carried for their first audience [15].

For reasons which cannot be dealt with here, though some of them have already been touched on in this essay, the possibilities in verbal interpretation in Persian among Iranians are manifold. As an example it may be observed that the first poem translated below lends itself to interpretation in terms of alchemy. Such interpretation has been offered the present writer, only to be laughed out of court by others and no doubt quite rightly so. What is of interest, however, is that such an interpretation should be seriously offered and that certain aspects of the poem should lend themselves to it.

It is extremely unlikely that Rūmī was either a practitioner of alchemy or a magician, nevertheless indication is also given in the notes of what an amateur magician might make of certain aspects of the first poem. While this kind of material was considered of sufficient interest to be referred to, the fact remains that there is no sin, rather considerable virtue, in accepting this poetry as it stands, depending on the powers of one's own perception for the extent to which it is understood and appreciated. The research student does well to attempt to reconstruct the intellectual climate in which the poems were composed. Thus additional possible significations may be found of importance in understanding the movement of which the poems were partly the expression. Such preoccupations must not, however, blind us to the intrinsic beauty of the poems, which are capable of exciting to this day the appreciation of even the unscholarly among those in whose language they were written. A happy hunting ground these poems may well be for the scholar; in Iran clerks in offices recite couplets from them to help pass the tedious hours of a work-day or the gayer times of a festive occasion.

### THREE TRANSLATIONS FROM THE DĪVĀN-I-SHAMS-I-TABRĪZĪ

بروید ای حریفان بکشید بارمارا
بمن آورید بکدم صنم گریز پارا

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[15] Gratitude is due to Mr. G. M. Wickens for the attention he has drawn to this matter of multiple meanings and associations in the vocabulary of Persian poetry, vide his article in *The Bulletin of the London School of Oriental & African Studies,* Vol. XIV Pt. 3.

بترانه های شیرین ببها نه های رنگین
بکشید سوی خانه مه خوب خوش لقارا
اگر او بوعده گوید که دم دگر بیایم
همه وعده مکرباشد بفریبد او شمارا
دم سخت گرم دارد که بجادوئی وافسون
بزندگره برآتش وببندد او هوارا*
بمبارکی وشادی چونگار من درآید
بنشین نظاره میکن توعجایب خدا را
چو جمال او بتابد چه بود جمال خوبان
که رخ چوآفتابش بکشد چراغهارا
بروای دل سبك پربیمن بدلبر من
برسان سلام وخدمت توعقیق بی بهارا
شه ماست شمس دینم بحقیقت یقینم
زلبان نبات ریزد ببردزما عنارا

* دم‌سخت گرم دارد که بجادوئی وافسون
بزندگره براب او وببندد او هوارا

A Variant of this Bait is:

(See note 2 below).

1. Go Comrades, fetch our beloved: bring me a moment the runaway idol, (1)
2. With sweet songs and various pretexts fetch to the house the beautiful comely face.
3. If he makes excuses, saying, "I'll come presently"; all the promises are false: he'll be deceiving you.
4. He has most potent words so that with magic and incantations he ties knots with fire and binds up the air (2)
5. When with festivity and happiness my beloved arrives, sit and look on, you, at the wonders of God.
6. When his beauty shines, what of the beauty of the fair? For his sun-like face puts out the lamps (3).
7. Go light-flying heart to Yaman (4), to my sweetheart. Take my greeting and submission, you, to the gem without price (5).
8. He is our Emperor, the Sun of My Faith (6), in Truth my Certainty. From his lips he pours sugar candy to bear off our affliction.

NOTES

1. *Sanam-i-guriz pa*(صنم گریزپا) By the alchemist this may be taken as synonymous with *zaibaq* (زیبق), quicksilver, other synonyms for which are stated to be *nasr* (نسر), *tāʾir* (طائر) *ʿabd abaq* (عبدابق) jiveh (جیوه), the word most commonly used in modern Persian for *quicksilver,* and *sīmāb* (سیماب)

2. Nobody can now tell exactly what magic practices were known in Rūmī's time and it is idle to speculate. Nowadays magicans in Iran are known to tie knots in thread, cut them off, blow on them and cast them on to fire with incantations for the good or ill of absent persons, (cf. *The Wild Rue,* B.A. Donaldson, p. 13, Luzac, 1938). Also, an old practice to show extraordinary powers was to light two candles, place them apart and make their flames combine, become knotted together, so to speak, in midair. The other reading of this *bait* makes it plain that all that is intended is to state that the beloved was capable of doing the impossible, of exercising "extraordinary skill," vide *Masnavi,* Nicholson, Book 1, verse 338 and Commentary p. 37, where *girih bar ab bastan* is explained. A range of speculation is possible on the significance of binding the air, though this (cf. Nicholson's Commentary loc. cit, *girih bar bad bastan*) may be taken as meaning the same as *girih bar ab bastan.* However, the "air" may refer explicitly to the humors of men or to the elements: he could control the former, or his supernatural powers were such that he could reverse the natural order of the latter. Rūmī's idol had supernatural powers, this much is clear; his breath had magic properties (literally it was "very hot") or, as translated above, his words were potent. The idea of breath endowed with supernatural powers is sufficiently common, and there are, of course, numerous references in Ṣūfī Poetry to Christ's breath.

3. The alchemist naturally sees the reference to gold in this verse.

4. The Yaman as the seat of Uwais al-Qarani, whose saintly influence was believed to have been communicated to the Prophet: vide Nicholson's Commentary on the *Masnavi* Bk. II, 1203 and *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya* Pt. 1, p. 15.

5. A happy holiday for the alchemist. cf *The Wild Rue* for the use of precious and semi-precious stones as charms against evil.

6. May be read in two ways, as above and also to mean "I am Shams ud-Dīn" i.e. I am completely identified with him, the Perfect Man.

7. There were three stages of perception or knowledge, *ʿilm al yaqīn, ʿain al yaqīn* and *haqq al yaqīn,* representing for the Ṣūfī an ascending scale of spiritual perception until complete certainty was attained in *ḥaqq al yaqīn.* This meant identification with God. (cf.

Qurʾān Surah CII v. 5 and 7 and Nicholson's Commentary to the *Masnavi;* also *Tarikh-i-Taṣawwuf dar Islam* by Doctor Qāsim Ghānī, pp. 181-180, p. 405 & Glossary of Terms). Rūmī alludes to the supreme degree reached by Tabrīzī, though using *behaqiqat* adverbially. *Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn* was a state of knowing in which all difference between cause and effect had ceased to exist.

وه چلبی زدست تو وزلب و چشم مست تو
صدچو دلم شکست تووه چلبی زدست تو
روز زهجر ناخوشم شب همه شب درآتشم
بارفراق میکشم وه چلبی زدست تو
چندمرا فریفتی وز برمن گریختی
خون دلم بریختی وه چلبی زدست تو
جای دگر تو سرخوشی بامن بیدل آتشی
وه که چه شوخ وسرکشی وه چلبی زدست تو
جور وجفا بماکنی با دگران وفاکنی
این همه راچراکنی وه چلبی زدست تو
جور وجفا کنی کشم زهرفنا دلم چشم
باغم تونبسی خوشم وه چلبی زدست تو
خوب ولطیف ودلبری درگذری ونگری
هیچ غمم نمیخوری وه چلبی زدست تو
پای وصال بسته شد بند دلم شکسته شد
رشتهء غم گسسته شد وه چلبی زدست تو
باز زمن چه دیدهای مهر زمن بریدهای
غیرمرا گزیدهای وه چلبی زدست تو
خیزم وبس فغان کنم شور دراین جهان کنم
راز دلم عیان کنم وه چلبی زدست تو
زآنچه پی جفا روی به که سوی وفا روی
آن منی کجا روی وه چلبی زدست تو

1. Oh Chelebī (i), on account of you, of your lip and drunken eye a hundred like my heart are broken for you, oh Chelebi, all on account of you.

2. Day-time I'm sick from the separation; night after night I'm on fire —
   I bear the burden of loneliness, oh Chelebī, on account of you.
3. For a while you have deceived me and run away from my side,
   spilt the blood of my heart; oh Chelebī, all on acount of you.
4. You are convivial elsewhere, with lovelorn me a consuming fire.
   Oh what insolence and pride! Oh Chelebī, all on account of you!
5. For us you have only tyranny and injustice, with others you are faithful.
   Why do you do all these things? Oh Chelebī, all on acount of you.
6. Mete out tyranny and injustice: I'll take it. Give the poison of annihilation: I'll taste it —
   I am happy enough in grief for you, oh Chelebī, all on acount of you.
7. Beautiful, delicate ravishing, you pass and you do not look;
   you feel nothing for my pain, oh Chelebī, all on account of you!
8. The foot of Union is fettered, the seat of my heart is shattered,
   the bounds of grief are broken, oh Chelebi, all on account of you.
9. What have I done? You have cut off pity from me,
   you have preferred another to me; oh Chelebī, all on account of you.
10. I will arise and make lament: I'll fill this world with commotion,
    I'll publish the secrets of my heart, of Chelebī, all on account of you.
11. Instead of following the path of injustice, it is better you go towards fidelity.
    You belong to me; where are you going to? Oh Chelebī, all on account of you.

*Note:* (i) Hussām ud-Dīn Chelebī, who succeeded Rūmī as head of the Order of Dervishes.

روسر بنه ببالین تنها مرا رهاکن
ترك من خراب شبگرد مبتلاکن
مائیم و موج سودا شب تابروز تنها
خوانی بیا ببخشا خوانی بروجفاکن
ازمن گریزتا توهم دربلا نیفتی
بگزین رهسلامت ترك ره بلاکن
مائیم وآب دیده درکنج غم خزیده
برآب دیدهٔ ماصد جای آسیاکن
خیره کشی است ما رادردلی چوخارا
بکشد کسش نگوید تدبیر خونبهاکن

برشاه خوبرویان واجب وفانباشد
ای زرد روی عشق توصبر کن وفاکن
درد بتِ غیرمردن کانرا دوانباشد
پس من چگونه گویم کاین درد را دواکن
درخواب دوش پیری درکوی عشق دیدم
باد ست اشارتم کردکلی عزم سوی ماکن
گرژد هاست دره عشقست چون زمّرد
ازبرق آن زمّرد عین دفع ژد هاکن
بس کن که بیخودم من وَرتو هنر فزائی
تاربخ یوعلی گوتبیه بوالعلاکن

1. Go and put your head on the pillow, leave me alone:
leave wretched, sleepless, afflicted me.
2. Here we are and the black waves (1) the whole night long:
you may come and be kind, you may go and be cruel.
3. Run away from me so that you do not fall into affliction:
choose the way of safety: eschew the way of calamity.
4 Here we are and the tear drops, (2) crept into a corner of grief-
on the water of our eyes set up mills at a hundred places.
5. We have a ruthless killer, he has a heart like granite:
he kills and nobody tells him to consider the blood money.
6. The Emperor of the Fair does not have to be faithful —
oh you wan lover, it is up to you to wait, to be faithful!
7. There is a pain, other than death, which has no remedy:
how can I ask you to physic this pain?
8. In a dream last night I saw an old man in the street of love.
He beckoned me saying "Hey, you, when are you setting out for us?"
9. If the dragon is in the way, there is love like the emerald-lo!
drive off the dragon with the flashing of that emerald (3).
10. Cease for I am beside myself: if you would increase your ingenuity,
recount the *History* of 'Bū ᶜAli, make the *Tanbih* of 'Bū'l ᶜAlā(4).

NOTES

This poem is generally reputed to have been Maulana's last poem, and perhaps his last utterance, on his death bed. His son, Bahā ud-Dīn, was unable to sleep and so his dying father began this poem to quieten him and admonish him to go to bed. Weeping those present wrote the poem down. For the student of Persian poetry this poem

is breath-taking in its power and in the way it shows so many of the characteristics of great poetry in this genre.

1. and 2. are interesting examples of the juxtaposition of two pictures without the expected linking words. The "here" is an addition: the original is much more straightforward, "We are and black night," "We are and tears." This type of startling juxtaposition is common in Ḥāfiẓ.

3. The emerald has the property of blinding serpents, see Nicholson's text of the *Masnavi,* Bk. III, v. 2548 and Commentary, page 68. Maulana refers to this property of the emerald on numerous occasions, likening the green light of this stone to the breath of the Perfect Man, the shadow of the good etc., because the dragon symbolized the lusts and selfish desires of the self, pride and conceit, the manifestations of the unregenerate self, cf. *Masnavi,* Nicholson's text, Bk. III, v. 1053 and 971. The idea also occurs elsewhere in Persian literature. Therefore, this verse means that, if the dragon of the unregenerate self is cutting you off in your progress along the golden road to Perfection, you should produce emerald-like love which can destroy the power of this dragon, for Rūmī believed that love alone could eradicate the corruption and overcome the vanity of the self.

4. *'Būl-ᶜAlā* was used by Maulana to mean "so-and-so," vide Nicholson's Commentary to the *Masnavi,* Bk. III, v. 776 "a *kunyah* bestowed ironically on any foolish boaster." Maulana is here holding up to ridicule ordinary learning — 'Būᶜalī (Ibn Sīnā) did not write a *History,* but he did write a book in the title of which *Tanbīh* was a component. Maulana deliberately transposes the two, 'Bū ᶜAlī's *History* and "that jack-ass's *Tanbīh*". The Ṣūfī had little time for traditional learning; asū Ḥāfiẓ says:

بشوی اوراق اگر همدرس مائی  که علم عشق در دفتر نباشد

"Wash the pages if you're our classmate, for the science of love is not in exercise books" [16]).

*Teheran* P. W. Avery

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[16] This article, which has been the product of many a delightful evening's converse with Iranian friends and scholars, especially Dr. Sadiq Guharin, a pupil of Iran's greatest authority on Rūmī, seems to the author no more than a prelude into researches on the political significance of Iranian Sufism. ᶜAṭṭar, mentioned on p. 237, seems to be a link between Ismailism and Sufism. Both may be considered as manifestations of Iranian politico-religious 'opposition.' Sufism must be viewed as a political institution as well as a spiritual and aesthetic development. To it the persistence of the Iranian genius owes much.

# CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATES IN PAKISTAN. III

The prolonged and often painful process of Pakistani constitution-making came to its technical completion during the time of the actual preparation of these articles. This third one is closest of the three to the actual events and debates it aims to summarize. While contemporary history is notoriously difficult to write, the stuff of it begins only a few removes from yesterday's newspaper. That, with all its limitations, is about where we now find ourselves.

## Final Sessions of the First Constituent Assembly.

The ten working meetings of the Constituent Assembly in August and September 1954 were devoted to the following transactions:

(a) Debating and adopting the B.P.R. (August 2, September 15, 16, 17, 20, 21). The major debates concerned the question of the relation between the Federation and the Units (September 15 and 21) and the adoption of the B.P.R. as a whole (September 21). The always controversial topic of the division of powers between the Center and the Provinces was complicated by the introduction of two proposals not found in the B.P.R., namely, the amalgamation of all the component parts of West Pakistan into one Unit, and the creation of a Zonal Federation for the West.

(b) Debating and adopting the Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights of Citizens of Pakistan and on Matters relating to Minorities (August 19, 24, 31, September 7). The portion of this report known as the Interim Report on Fundamental Rights had been adopted on October 6, 1950. The second portion related to the safeguarding of minorities and added three more fundamental rights. Its discussion opened the burning question of Muslim-Hindu relations, both past and present. The subject of communalism led on, or back, to the basic controversy as to whether the Constitution should be made Islamic or secular. Separate versus joint electorates became the central issue.

(c) Other legislation (August 2, September 20, 21). Three Bills were passed. Two were amendments to the Government of India Act, 1935, as Amended for Pakistan, 1947: one guaranteeing to the Constituent Assembly absolute authority as the constitution-making body; the other curbing the powers of the Governor General and extending those of the Prime Minister with respect to the appointment of Ministers and the functioning of the Cabinet. The bill to repeal the Public and Representative Offices Act, 1949, also curtailed the power of the Governor General.

These proceedings will be reviewed chronologically.

On August 2, the Minister of Law introduced an Act, to be called

the "Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1954," the object of which was (1) to declare the Constituent Assembly fully competent to frame a Constitution or make any constitutional provision not merely as a Dominion (as in Section 8, Clause 1, of the Indian Independence Act), but as a sovereign independent republic, and to exercise that power for the entire territory of Pakistan, including the territories of the acceding states; and (2) to bar expressly the jurisdiction of all courts of Pakistan, including the Federal Court, and render them incompetent to question directly or indirectly, or to declare invalid, any provision affecting the Constitution of the whole of Pakistan made by the Constituent Assembly. (Under Section 204 the Federal Court had original jurisdiction and could enquire into the legality of constitutional legislation.) Mr. Brohi and other members stated that this amendment would set at rest doubts as to the authority of the Constituent Assembly and protect all constitutional pronouncements of the House. On September 7 1954 came the adoption of the amended Report on the question of Minorities [1].

Dominating the strenuous debate on this Report was the subject of joint versus separate electorates. The amended text adopted on September 7, 1954 does not reveal this central controversy. The first article in the Report as submitted in May 1952, [2] and presented to the Assembly in August 1954, provided separate electorates for the various communities of Pakistan. On August 19, the mover of the Report, Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar, asserted that debate on this clause was precluded because, in November 1953, the Assembly had adopted the principle of separate electorates as provided in the B.P.R. Nevertheless, the opposition could not abandon the subject. The Hindu members, absent or non-participating since November 2, 1953, played an active role from August 17 to the end of the Sixteenth Session. They now threw themselves into an appeal for the principle of joint electorate, insisting that they needed no special protection and that all Pakistanis should be treated alike. The Report brought forth a flood of feeling on the treatment of minorities in both Pakistan and India, and the debate broadened into a delta of issues pertaining to communalism. The arguments were set forth by both sides with such clarity and cogency as to make the debate of these four days a classic exposition for students of political science.

The consideration on September 15 of the relations between the Federation and the Units — Paragraph 133 of Part VI of the B.P.R. — introduced the question of the division of power, and along with it two new proposals: Zonal Sub-Federation and the amalgamation of all the divisions of West Pakistan into a single unit. According to Paragraph

[1] An article on Minorities under the new Constitution will appear in our October issue. For the text of the Report on Fundamental Rights and Minorities, see the Draft Constitution, 1954.

[2] It was not *voted* on this date, as stated in the January *Muslim World*, p. 44, but merely "submitted," or issued to the members of the Assembly.

133, the residuary powers of legislation were to vest in the Federation. Not only did the East Pakistani members move that residuary powers of legislation should vest in the Units, and that powers in respect of defense, foreign affairs and currency only should be conferred on the Center, but also the leaders of West Pakistan, such as the Chief Minister of the Punjab, urged that more powers be delegated to the provincial government in East Bengal and to the Provinces in West Pakistan "jointly to be exercised." Factionalism within the Muslim League Party was revealed in the discussion of the various methods by which the provinces might obtain a greater degree of autonomy. Useful as this debate might be toward understanding the merger later effected in West Pakistan, space does not permit an examination of the matter.

The first business on September 20 was the passing of "An Act to repeal the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1949." This Act, to come into force at once, carried the following provision (Clause 3): "All proceedings under the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1949, pending before the Governor-General of Pakistan or a Governor of a Province shall be deemed to have been dropped."

Introducting the measure, Mr. M. H. Gazder, Deputy President of the Assembly, reviewed the origin and operation of the Disqualification Act. He said that after the dismissal of the Chief Minister of Sind, M. A. Khuhro, by the Governor of Sind at the request of Mr. Jinnah, the need was felt for legislation that would purify the public life of Pakistan. After the death of the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan believed not only that the Tribunal's report justifying the action of Mr. Jinnah should be published but also that holders of public office who were guilty of misconduct should be debarred from public life. The Act of 1949 gave the Governor-General or a Governor the right to move a High Court or the Federal Court, or to set up a Tribunal, to consider the allegations of misconduct that might be brought against any Minister, Parliamentary Secretary, or member of any Legislature in Pakistan. If judicially found guilty, the person could be disqualified from remaining in or being elected to public office for a period up to ten years. "Misconduct" was defined as "bribery, corruption, jobbery, favoritism, nepotism, wilful misadministration, wilful misapplication or diversion of public moneys... or any other abuse of official power or position or any abettment thereof." Mr. Gazder argued that the Bill had done more harm than good because it had been misused. It had served as a political weapon against persons. The sword of PRODA hung over any minister who did not please the Governor or his own Secretaries.

The House unanimously agreed that the Act should be repealed. The Minority, however, questioned the motives underlying repeal and its timing. The parties differed, too, as to how the repeal of the Act would affect those who had been disqualified. Mr. K. K. Datta questioned,

and so did certain Muslims, whether the Act should be repealed at the moment when, according to report, petitions against Members were pending for the consideration of the Governor-General. Ought it be repealed "to save some prospective delinquents from the sword of the Act?"

Professor Chakraverty offered an amendment providing that all persons who had been disqualified by the Act of 1949 should, from the date of the repeal of the Act, be deemed not to have been so disqualified and that the order of disqualification should cease to be operative. He and his colleagues took the position that punishment should be completely withdrawn. The Honorable Pirzada Abdur Sattar Abdur Rahman introduced an amendment calling for the addition of the following new clause 4: "This repeal shall not affect any penalty, forfeiture, disqualification or punishment already incurred or awarded under said Act or any reference pending before any Court or Tribunal on or before the 1st September, 1954." He took the somewhat illogical position that the Act had served well in the past ("Then why do you come for repeal?" interrupted Professor Chakraverty), but that the mischief it might cause in the future would outweigh the good it had already accomplished. Professor Chakraverty's amendment was defeated by a standing vote of 26 to 9. Then the rival amendment of Mr. Pirzada was adopted and the entire "Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) (Repeal) Act, 1954" was passed.

After the repeal of PRODA, the Prime Minister placed before the House a group of amendments "intended to implement the decisions which the B.P.C. had adopted in relation to the Frontier Province and Baluchistan States." These amendments, he said, contained proposals for the governing of the States and Tribal Areas that had acceded to Pakistan and for their place in the constitutional set-up of Pakistan. So complicated were these matters, and so temporary their solution in view of the merging of the provinces, princely states and tribal areas of West Pakistan, discussed in the House on September 15 and undertaken later in 1954 and 1955, that no attempt is made here to report them. Characteristically, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan pleaded for negotiating with the people of these areas before promulgating laws, and Mr. D. N. Datta was ready with an amendment providing joint electorates. The Annexure of Amendments was swiftly adopted.

On September 21, Mr. M. H. Gazder introduced a Bill to amend certain sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, as Amended for Pakistan (Sections 9, 10, 10A, 10B, 17, and 7), dealing with the Federation, particularly the Governor-General and his Ministers. The stated object of this "Government of India (Fifth Amendment) Act, 1954" was "to give legislative sanction to certain accepted principles and conventions connected with the formation and working of Government in Parliamentary system of Government...The principles under-

lying the Bill have already been accepted by the Constituent Assembly for being incorporated in future Constitution of Pakistan."

The Bill took powers away from the Governor-General, gave power to the Prime Minister — an official not designated before — and involved the Federal Legislature in the appointment and dismissal of Ministers. The most important provisions in this constitutional amendment are the following:

In the new Section 9 the words here italicized were added to the old version: "There shall be a Council of Ministers *with the Prime Minister at the head* to aid and advise the Governor-General in the exercise of his functions. *The Governor-General shall be bound by the advice of the Ministers.*"

Section 10 of the Government of India Act, 1935, read: The Governor-General's ministers shall be chosen and summoned by him, shall be sworn as members of the council, and shall hold office during his pleasure." The following provisions of the new Section 10 differed from the old Act: (1 and 2) The Governor-General should appoint a Member of the Federal Legislature who commanded the confidence of the majority of the Members of the Federal Legislature as Prime Minister; other Ministers from amongst the Members of the Federal Legislature in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister; such Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers as were recommended the Prime Minister. (3) "The Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Federal Legislature and the Ministers including the Prime Minister shall cease to hold office on the expression of want of confidence in any of them by the Federal Legislature." (4) "The Prime Minister may, at any time, call upon any Minister of State or Deputy Minister to resign on or before a date fixed by the Prime Minister..."

Clause 3 of Section 17 of the Government of India Act reads: "The Governor-General shall make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Federal Government, and for the allocation among ministers of the said business." The bill of 1954 substituted the words "Prime Minister" for the words "Governor-General."

Finally, the new constitutional Amendment was to come into effect at once.

In introducing the Bill, Mr. Gazder stated that it would revitalize the political life of Pakistan and re-establish her reputation of being a democratic country. It was necessary, he said, for clarification. "Not for clarification, but for safeguarding," remarked Mr. D. N. Datta. The Bill was passed, and the House proceeded to the matter of the adoption of the B.P.R. as a whole.

On September 21, 1954, the Prime Minister's motion "That the B.P.R., as amended, be adopted" was passed by a vote of 29 to 11.

The Prime Minister began, "The House will remember that I moved for the consideration of the Basic Principles Committee Report on

7 October, and within a period of less than a year we have been able to accomplish this tremendous task of Constitution-making.... We hope that when the Draft Constitution Bill will come, we will be able to make satisfactory progress as we have done in the adoption of the B.P.R. and that *Insha-Allah* we shall be able to finalise the Constitution-making completely by the end of this year so that by 1 January 1955, Pakistan may be an Islamic Republic."

Five Hindu members urged the rejection of the B.P.R. Eight Muslims and one Hindu advocated its adoption and replied to the criticisms made by the opposition. The speeches recapitulate, in 68 pages, the arguments set forth throughout the year of debating. The entire session was dramatic. The sharp, sarcastic, or overbearing statements of the speakers provoked many exclamations from the opposite side.

The Hindu speeches may be surveyed as a group. Professor Chakraverty's speech summarizes the topics he and his colleagues developed at this historic session. "We have come here today at this final stage of the adoption of the B.P.R....to lodge our protest... and to tell the world that this Constitution based on the B.P.R. is undemocratic; it denies equal rights to all citizens of the State. It is based on discrimination, and therefore, it should be rejected." We may conveniently tabulate his points:

I. This Constitution breaks various promises and agreements:
   - A. The Cabinet Mission Plan, June 3, 1947.
     (When India was divided into two countries, the leading political parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, solemnly promised that the minorities and all other people in each country would enjoy the full and equal rights of citizenship),
   - B. The Liaquat Ali Khan—Nehru agreement, 1950, guaranteeing full rights of citizenship to all, including the minorities.
   - C. The "plighted word of the Quaid-i-Azam," August 11, 1947.
   - D. The Declaration of Human Rights contemplated in the Charter of the United Nations Organization.
   - E. The Report on Fundamental Rights of Citizens and Matters Relating to the Minorities, 1950 and 1952.

II. This constitution-making is based upon the mischievous two-nation theory: that the Muslims are a majority nation and superior, the non-Muslims a minority nation and inferior.
   - A. Examples of discrimination in the B.P.R. as amended
     1. The name: "Islamic Republic of Pakistan."
        (*The Report of the Punjab Disturbances Inquiry Committee* states on the authority of the leading Maulanas and of Chief Justice Munir of the Federal Court of Pakistan that non-Muslims can never have equal rights with Muslims in an Islamic State.)
     2. No legislation repugnant to the Qurʾān and the Sunnah.
     3. The Head of the State a Muslim.
     4. An Ecclesiastical Department maintained by the State to teach Islam.
     5. Separate electorates for the Provincial Legislatures and the Central Legislature.
   - B. Evidence that Islam is not democratic to non-Muslims
     1. The "Munir Report", p. 312
        (The fate of the Qadianis; the theory of the Maulanas)
     2. The revocation of the "Fundamental Rights" passed by this House in October, 1950

| 1950 | 1954 |
| --- | --- |
| The personal laws of all communities guaranteed | All laws of Pakistan to conform with the Qurʾān and Sunnah |
| Every qualified citizen eligible for State service irrespective of caste, creed, sex | The Head of the State a Muslim |

C. Other undemocratic provisions of the amended B.P.R.
   1. The composition of the Upper and Lower Houses of Pakistan.
      a. No proportional representation on the basis of population.
      b. Equal powers to the Upper House, elected indirectly, and the Lower House, elected by direct adult franchise.
   2. Deadlock when bills must be passed by a majority of thirty per cent of the members present and voting from each wing of Pakistan
   3. The election of the Head of State by the Central Legislature instead of by the people.
   4. Denial of autonomy to the federating units.
      a. Giving the Central Government many subjects besides defense, foreign affairs, and currency.
      b. Denying residuary powers to the provinces.
      c. Violation of
         The desires of the people as shown by the elections of 1954
         The Lahore Resolution, 1940
         The Quaid-i-Azam's promises on vesting residuary powers in the provinces.

Mr. K. K. Datta argued that the underlying assumption that the Muslim League would remain the only party in Pakistan was the source of many of the problems that beset the constitution-making. A party having *no political ideology,* a party based only on religion, could and would not live in the modern world. The term "Islamic Republic" would have to be defined. Surely the proposed Constitution was not Islamic. Section 10 robbed it of its Islamic quality: Clauses 4 and 10 annulled each other. The name was used at the time of the Bengal elections to divert the attention of the Muslim masses from the real problems of the country. ("No, No," cried some members.)

In his long and often satirical speech Mr. Chattopadhyaya rejected the B.P.R. as amended on the ground that in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan the Hindus would be considered outlaws. He quoted the following passage from the Munir Report:

> "An Islamic State is *Darul Islam,* namely, a country where ordinances of Islam are established and which is under the rule of a Muslim sovereign. Its inhabitants are Muslims and also non-Muslims, who have submitted to Muslim control and who, under certain restrictions and without the possibility of full citizenship, are guaranteed lives and property by the Muslim State.
>
> An Islamic State is in theory perpetually at war with the neighboring non-Muslim countries, which at any time become *Darul Harb,* in which case it is the duty of the Muslims of that country to leave it and to go over to the country of their brethren in faith."

Mr. D. N. Datta called for the reopening of the clauses of the Constitution before decisions should become final. He pointed out that the

Prime Minister and the Central Cabinet were all-powerful, controlling the President and even the government of the provinces. In his opinion the abuse of power on the part of the Central Government in administering East Bengal equalled that of the Governor-General, whose powers had just been curbed in the Assembly. Mr. D. N. Datta suggested further that preventive detention for reasons connected with the maintenance of public order should not be retained. Mr. B. K. Datta, similarly, charged that there was an effort to finish the Constitution, so that the first elections could be held while East Bengal was still under Governor's Rule. No fair election would be held under Governor's Rule and the League would certainly be returned to power. The majority of that party, the speaker remarked, was in the hands of a clique, a "set of hedonists" whose lives contrasted with those of the Prophet and the first four Khalīfahs. The makers of the Constitution were not the products of Islamic culture and thought, but of Indian and British culture—"not of the British people but of the British snob." The speaker passed on to economics. The shibboleth of Islamic socialism is "a ubiquitous illusion." We hear of Christian socialism and Hindu socialism. "Every religious system has sought to discover the solution of all modern problems in its ancient books." We should study modern rationalism, he declared, in which at least there is no trace of provision for any variety of socialism. Significant in connection with his earlier analysis of socialism was the following comment on capitalism:

> As for the stage of growth of our economy, if we must live and thrive in the modern world, we must provide, for the time being, for rapid capitalistic growth. An Islamic constitution has often been sought to be justified as a remedy against the spread of communism. I say it is a quick remedy. The spread of communism can be checked only if you can quickly ease the food and clothing situation for the masses. That requires quick capitalistic development. And secular, sovereign, parliamentary democracy is preeminently the political system that history has evolved for such development.

The speech of Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, however, combined congratulations on "the dawn of a new era in our Motherland" with defense of the Constitution. She rejoiced that sovereignty would soon be transferred to the people. According to the Western democracy incorporated in this Constitution, all must now "accept what the majority has decided." The Party system was a feature of Western democracy. Pakistan's Constitution was "as bad or as good as the Constitutions of all the other democratic countries." After all, a Constitution was not rigid but could always be changed. She considered the Report of the Committee on Fundamental Rights an improvement upon the one drawn by the "Sister Dominion." Minority interests would be safer in an Islamic State than in India. Besides, any citizen could always take his case to the impartial judges on the Supreme Court. Mr. Nurul Amin defended the majority party and the Constitution against the oft-repeated charges of the opposition, such as the seven long

years spent in making the Constitution; the Muslim League's lack of political ideology; the 30 per cent rule, which he said would benefit any coalition government as well as the one-party government of the Muslim League; the discrepancy between the original B.P.R. and the Constitution; the alleged greater liberalism of India. He said that India was already borrowing Islamic principles for divorce, remarriage and the inheritance of daughters and widows. East Bengal complained less of what subjects of legislation were given to the Center than of the way the province was administered. With the Center now in control, much money was being spent on East Bengal. He disapproved of extracting judgments from "some report" because "The Reports are not an authority on Islamic laws."

Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar, another Muslim speaker, congratulated K. K. Datta and D. N. Datta on their constructive speeches but took exception to the speech of B. K. Datta and said that Mr. Chattopadhyaya was "very enamoured" of the Munir Report. He reiterated several of the refutations he had made on August 31 in discussing the Report on the Fundamental Rights of Citizens.

The final speaker was Mr. Brohi, who had piloted the B.P.R. through the months of debate. The points he emphasized were these:
(1) The main complaint against the Constitution had been separate electorates. He said he believed that those who wanted separate electorates should have them, those who wanted a joint electorate should have it. This Constitution, he said, was by no means "an unequivocal verdict" because it could be altered and amended. The elections in East Bengal were not fought on the making of the Constitution, for the making of a Constitution was not a provincial subject. Hence the results of the elections did not prove that people desired a joint electorate. (Mr. Brohi seemed to recognize clearly that the people would inevitably demand and gain a joint electorate but found himself in the position of having to say with his party: "Later, not now.")
(2) It had been said that because Section 92A was in effect in East Bengal, the Provincial Legislature could not express itself on the Constitution. But no Provincial Legislature had as yet been called on to pass on the Constitution. East Bengal was on no higher a pedestal than West Pakistan.
(3) The Munir Report should not have been quoted in the debate on the Constitution. "In this document I am not able to see any denunciation or condemnation of what is called an Islamic State." The Justices were not pronouncing on the merits of the Islamic State but only citing various opinions to show the cause of the confusion abroad. The history of Islamic States did not matter today. This Constitution was a legal document. Any citizen could take any provision to the Supreme Court, on which non-Muslims could serve. In the strict legal sense, then, this Constitution would be found to be fair to all.
(4) A Commission's Report on Karachi was forthcoming.

The B.P.R. was sent to a drafting committee of constitutional experts. On October 16, the Draft Constitution was sent to the printer. The Assembly planned to review the draft on October 27.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS AND THE SECOND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OCTOBER 1954—OCTOBER 1955

On October 24, in seeming retaliation for the bills of September 20 and 21, the Governor General proclaimed a state of emergency and in effect dissolved the Constituent Assembly, saying it had "lost the confidence of the people." The Prime Minister told the nation in a broadcast that the making of the Constitution had endangered the stability of the country by provoking personal, sectional, and provincial rivalries and suspicions. He said that elections would be held within the next few months, that the representatives of the people would have "a fresh mandate... to frame a constitution such as will, I trust, advance, not reverse, the process of welding our people into a single, united, strong and progressive nation...Constitution-making is important. But more important by far is the security and stability of our country." On October 29, Major General Mirza declared that Pakistan needed "controlled democracy." He declared that one good strong man like the Governor General was needed to control every activity of the people and prevent the people from destroying themselves. This much publicized statement was amplified by the Minister of Information on December 4.

The period from October 24, 1954, when the Governor General dissolved the Constituent Assembly as "unrepresentative of the people," to October 1955, when the Second Constituent Assembly was engaged in debating a Draft Constitution, was marked by momentous political conflict, involving constitutional crises: (1) an eight-month struggle of Governor General Ghulam Muhammad against the forces represented in the Muslim League-dominated Constituent Assembly; (2) the growing contest between the Muslim League and the United Front-Awami League combination that had defeated it in the East Pakistani elections of March 1954—a contest that was to culminate, in August 1955, in the first coalition government in the eight years of Pakistan's history. Concurrent with these major struggles for power were factionalism within the Muslim League, the rivalry of the United Front and the Awami League, and the ever-present opposition of the East and West Zones. To observers outside the country, the developments of the year following the dissolution of the first Constituent Assembly constituted a "Pakistan puzzle." Without the aid of printed constitutional debates, it is especially difficult to understand the meaning of all the shifting political currents. We shall attempt to survey only in broad outlines the relation of political events to the making of the Constitution.

Though for nine months there was no Constituent Assembly to engage in debate on the Constitution, the Constitution was not forgotten. The work of making a new draft went forward, as will be shown. Also, one of the most difficult constitutional problems—the representation of the East and West Zones in the Federal Legislature—was moving toward solution, in that as early as November 1954 plans were formulated for the merger of four provinces, ten princely states, and the tribal areas adjoining Afghanistan into a single province to be known as West Pakistan. Once the merger was effected, the Constitution could prescribe an equal number of representatives from the two provinces of the country, West Pakistan and East Pakistan.

By November, 1954 a coalition cabinet of fourteen members under the Governor General was formed by the addition of senior army officers, civil servants, and political opponents of the Muslim League. The most influential of the latter group, all former members of the League, was Ḥussain Shahīd Suhrawardy, the able politician who, with Fazlul Haq, had led the United Front to victory in March. A distinguished lawyer and parliamentarian of thirty years' experience, he was sworn as Minister of Law on December 20. He immediately began drafting a Constitution that would enable the government to prepare early elections.

The caretaker government of the Governor General developed into what some observers considered to be a virtual one-man rule administered by a cabinet of his own choosing. To some extent certainly, the Governor General was fighting the policies of the Constituent Assembly as expressed in the last acts of the Sixteenth Session. On March 21, 1955 the Federal High Court ruled that the Sind Provincial Court did not have jurisdiction when on February 8 it issued a writ restraining the Governor General from dissolving the National Assembly. On the key question whether the Governor General had power to dissolve the Assembly, the Federal Court said, "We purposely do not go into the question." Upheld by the Court, the Governor General and his cabinet on March 26 took decisions designed to stabilize and unify the nation. On March 27 the Governor General proclaimed a new state of emergency and assumed supreme administrative authority throughout Pakistan. On the same day h validated thirty-five of the forty-six laws that had been invalidated the week before by the Federal Court because he had not signed them when they were adopted by the Assembly. Immediately after signing the measures with retroactive effect, he announced the assumption of additional powers, saying he would "authenticate" the national budget approved by his "council of advisers," would announce the unification of West Pakistan late in May, and would make provisions "as necessary" to frame a Constitution. At this point constitutional lawyers remarked that Ghulam Muḥammad had assumed virtually dictatorial powers. Recalling the statement of his close adviser, Major General Mirza, on "controlled demo-

cracy", some observers in Pakistan expressed the fear that Pakistan might not become a democracy within the next decade.

In its rulings of April and May, the Federal Court both curbed the powers of the Governor General and reaffirmed his right to dissolve the Constituent Assembly. On April 12, it ruled that the extraordinary emergency powers assumed by the Governor General went beyond his legal authority. Three days later the Governor issued an order summoning a Constituent Convention composed of forty electors from East Pakistan and forty from West Pakistan to meet on May 16 to frame and adopt a Constitution. In press conferences on April 15 and 18, the Minister of Law stated that the Governor General's recent action had been misinterpreted as a step toward dictatorship, but that it was the reverse, undertaken in the interest of maintaining the rule of law. The Pakistan Government, Mr. Suhrawardy said, would abide by the decisions of the Federal Court. On May 10, the Federal Court ruled that the Governor General had legally dissolved the Constituent Assembly and that he had the power to call a Constituent Convention, which would be competent to function as a Constituent Assembly. Through the Prime Minister, the Governor General broadcast a message to the people in which he said that at last the way was clear for setting up a new Constituent Assembly, and that he hoped it would make a Constitution with speed. The elections in the Provincial Assemblies took place on June 23 and the Convention met in Murree on July 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 1955.

The contest between the Muslim League and the other political parties also effected the making of the Constitution. The challenge of the United Front and the Awami League can be measured by the presence in the "Cabinet of Talent" of such men as Mr. Suhrawardy and K. K. Datta and by the election on June 23, 1955 of a Constitutional Convention in which the League had a plurality, but not a majority, of the 72 seats elected by the Provincial Assemblies: Muslim League 25, United Front 16, Awami League 13, Minorities 11, Independents 7. Eight members from the tribal areas and frontier states were elected by the Assembly. Only six Muslim League members of the Governor General's Cabinet of thirteen were elected. (To be eligible for a post as Minister, a man had to be a member of the National Assembly.) As a result of failure to obtain a majority, the Muslim League was forced to form the first Coalition Government in Pakistan's history with Fazlul Ḥaq's United Front and Suhrawardy's Awami League. Despite the Prime Minister's overtures in December 1954 and March 1955, Mr. Ḥaq had not been reinstated as head of the administration of East Pakistan. On June 3, 1955, the Central Government had restored parliamentary government there under the United Front party.

On July 5, just before the convening of the Constituent Convention, an opposition drive to unseat the Prime Minister gained momentum. Mr. Suhrawardy, leader of the Awami League, declared he would

resign from the Cabinet unless he were elected leader of a party coalition in the eighty man house. He had drafted the final form of the proposed Constitution and was recognized by the majority of the Assembly as the only member capable of fulfilling the Government's promise that a Constitution would be adopted in two months. His party was gaining power and was felt to be the only opposition party with which the Muslim League-dominated government could form a stable coalition. On July 6, Prime Minister Muḥammad Ali failed to be chosen head of the Muslim League Party, and on August 7 resigned as Prime Minister. Thereupon arrangements were made for the swearing of Mr. Suhrawardy as Prime Minister on August 9. At the eleventh hour, however, the Law Minister's rival, Fazlul Ḥaq, came forward to pledge that the United Front would not oppose the Muslim League's program in the National Assembly. The League, therefore, accepted Mr. Ḥaq's offer, and on August 10 Chaudury Muḥammad Ali, Minister of Finance, became Prime Minister in a Muslim League-United Front coalition. Mr. Ḥaq became Minister of the Interior and, in October, also Minister of Education in the Karachi cabinet. Mr. Suhrawardy ceased to be Law Minister. What the Constitution of Pakistan might have been had he steered his own draft through the Assembly must remain one of the engaging if's of history.

As the new opposition leader and the champion of the principle of joint electorate, Mr. Suhrawardy worked to defeat the unification of West Pakistan, but on September 30 the National Assembly passed a bill merging 310,000 square miles into a single province. The vote was 40-13, with 27 members not voting. Debate on a final draft of the Constitution was due to begin on October 12. It included the principle of a joint electorate. The Awami League, meeting in Dacca at the end of October, voted to extend membership to non-Muslims, and this decision was announced by Mr. Suhrawardy. This move paved the way for ten million Hindus to associate themselves politically for the first time with a popular political organization that previously had been jealous of its Islamic communal character. The conference also voted unanimously for the principle of joint electorate. Leaders of other Muslim parties foresaw that the decision of the Awami League to become non-communal would open to the Hindus the possibility of control of East Pakistan. To this charge Mr. Suhrawardy replied that opposition to non-communal membership in the Awami League reflected a lack of faith in the Muslim majority's ability to control the organization. By the middle of November, the political leaders of Pakistan were stirring opposition to a government proposal for a joint electorate, and the mullahs inspired a fanatical demand for separate electorates. Strong opposition to the minorities issue was heard at a public meeting led by Mr. Fazlul Ḥaq. Addressing several thousands of people in Hyderabad, he declared that he would "demand a Constitution based on Islamic concepts."

### The Constitution Adopted on February 29, 1956

The Draft Constitution released on January 8, 1956 had been approved by a coalition committee of 63 members of the Constituent Assembly, consisting of 51 from the Muslim League and United Front parties, and a minority of Hindus and Christians. Because most of the 245 articles in the proposed Constitution reflected little change from those rejected in October 1954 as "unrepresentative of the people," many members of the Constituent Assembly predicted months of bitter controversy. Strong opposition there was—walkouts from the Assembly and mass meetings in Dacca and elsewhere—yet the contrary predictions of the Law Minister I. I. Chundrigar, and M. B. Aḥmad, who drafted the document, came true. The draft of January 8 was adopted, with amendments, by February 29. The final text provided that "Pakistan shall be a federal Republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan." The President, to be jointly elected by the members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, shall hold office for a term of five years. No person shall hold office as president for more than two terms. (Unlike the draft of January 8, the adopted Constitution provides for no Vice-President.)

Parliament, consisting of the President and one House, shall be known as the National Assembly. It shall consist of 300 members, half of whom shall be from West Pakistan and the other half from East Pakistan, with 10 additional seats reserved for women for ten years. The President may summon, prorogue or dissolve the National Assembly. A Cabinet, headed by a Prime Minister, shall be collectively responsible to the National Assembly. At least one session of the National Assembly in each year shall be held at Dacca.

The President shall, in his discretion, appoint from amongst the members of the National Assembly a Prime Minister, who, in his opinion, is most likely to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the National Assembly. The Prime Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the President. Other Ministers shall be appointed and removed from office by the President in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister.

Provincial Governors shall be appointed by the President. Provincial Legislatures shall consist of 300 members. For a period of ten years, 10 additional seats shall be added in each Provincial Assembly for women. The Governor may summon, prorogue or dissolve the Provincial Assembly.

The official languages of the Republic shall be Urdu and Bengali. For a period of twenty years, English shall continue to be used for all official purposes for which it was used in Pakistan immediately before Constitution Day.

Of particular interest are the Islamic and welfare provisions with

which the non-Muslims of Pakistan were especially concerned throughout the years of constitution-making.

The Preamble (the old Objectives Resolution) contains a new second clause: "Whereas the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, declared that Pakistan would be a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice."

In Part I, the phrase "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" was contested. The elimination of the word "Islamic" proposed by the ten Hindus and two Christian members of the Constituent Assembly was rejected on February 22, 1956 by a vote of 47 to 22.

Part II, on Fundamental Rights, embodies the Reports on Fundamental Rights and Minorities adopted by the Constituent Assembly on October 6, 1950 and August 31, 1954, with a few changes. There is no provision for a Ministry of Minority Affairs. The clause on equal pay for equal work has been omitted. A new article, with five sub-clauses, relates to safeguards with respect to arrest and detention. Qualifications have been added to the article on freedom of trade, business or profession and to that on protection of property rights. The 1950 version of the article protecting against discrimination in the service of the State had carried the qualification that posts might lawfully be reserved in favor of any minority or backward section of citizens. For the purpose of adequate representation, the Final Draft specifies the reservation of posts for persons belonging to any class or area for a period of fifteen years (a concession to East Pakistan).

Part III, the eighteen "Directive Principles of State Policy" found in the earlier versions appear as ten articles. All the steps toward the promotion of Islamic principles have been retained. (The clause "eliminate ribā' as early as practicable" was omitted only from the Draft of January 8.)

The article on the State's endeavoring to "remove illiteracy, and provide free and compulsory primary education within the minimum possible period" may be compared with earlier versions: B. P. R.: "remove illiteracy from the country within the minimum possible period; B.P.R., as adopted on October 29, 1953: "remove...period and to provide for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years within a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the Constitution"; Draft of 1954: same as the preceding, except that age fourteen was changed to "primary."

As no definite time has been set for the establishment of compulsory education, so the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive has been changed from the version of 1954—"within three years"—to "as soon as practicable."

An article appearing only in the Final Draft enjoins the State "to enable people from all parts of Pakistan to participate in the Defence Services of the country" and "to achieve parity in the representation

of East Pakistan and West Pakistan in all other spheres of Federal administration."

To take measures for the development and growth of "a national language" should be the duty of the Federal and Provincial Governments.

Part IV, "The Federation," requires that the President shall be a Muslim (adopted on February 22 by a vote of 43 to 20). His oath of office is a non-religious one (unlike that in the Draft of 1954).

Part VIII, "Elections," prescribes the following "Principle of Electorate": "Parliament may, after ascertaining the views of the Provincial Assemblies and taking them into consideration, by Act provide whether elections to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle on joint electorate or separate electorate, and may in any such Act provide for all matters incidental and consequential thereto." The phrase "after ascertaining...consideration" was an amendment to the text of January 8.

Part XI contains elaborate "Emergency Provisions" (articles 191-196). "If the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists in which the security or economic life of Pakistan, or any part thereof, is threatened by war or external aggression, or by internal disturbance beyond the power of a Provincial Government to control, he may issue a Proclamation of Emergency." While a Proclamation is in operation, Parliament shall have power to make laws for a Province, or any part thereof, with respect to any matter on the Provincial List; the executive authority of the Federation shall extend to giving directions to a Province as to the manner in which the executive authority of the Province shall be exercised; the President may by Order assume to himself, or direct the Governor of a Province to assume on behalf of the President, all or any of the functions of the Governor of the Province...provided that neither the President nor the Governor assume any of the powers vested in a High Court, or suspend the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to High Courts. Laws made by Parliament under a proclamation shall expire six months after the Proclamation has ceased to operate. "A Proclamation shall be laid before the National Assembly as soon as conditions make it practicable for the President to summon that Assembly, and if approved by the Assembly, shall remain in force until it is revoked, or if disapproved, shall cease to operate from the date of disapproval." During the emergency period, the President may order the suspension of the fundamental rights guaranteed by Part II of the Constitution; as soon as may be, a presidential order shall be laid before the National Assembly. Special laws made in emergency shall expire six months after the Proclamation has ceased to operate. The President may issue a Proclamation affecting the financial stability of Pakistan or any part thereof. He shall have the power to reduce salaries of government officials. "The validity of any Proclamation or Order issued under this Part shall not be

questioned in any Court." Finally, Parliament shall have the power "to make any law indemnifying any person in respect of any act done in connection with the maintenance or restoration of order in any area of Pakistan where martial law was in force..."

This is a partial summary of Part XI. In the old Constituent Assembly, it will be remembered, Emergency Provisions were strenuously fought by the Hindu minority of East Pakistan and also certain Muslims, who insisted that no democratic Constitution would allow such powers except in time of war.

Part XII, "General Provisions", begins with a chapter consisting of two "Islamic Provisions". Article 197 reads "(1) The President shall set up an organization for Islamic research and instruction in advanced studies to assist in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis. (2) Parliament may by Act provide for a special tax to be imposed upon Muslims for defraying expenses of the organization set up under clause (1), and the proceeds of such tax shall not, notwithstanding anything in the Constitution, form part of the Federal Consolidated Fund." Article 198 reads in part: (1) "No law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, hereinafter referred to as Injunctions of Islam, and existing law shall be brought into conformity with such Injunctions. (3) ...Within one year of Constitution Day, the Pesident shall appoint a Commission—(a) to make recommendations—(i) as to the measures for bringing existing law into conformity with the Injunctions of Islam and (ii) as to the stages by which such measures should be brought into effect; and (b) to compile in a suitable form, for the guidance of the National and Provincial Assemblies, such Injunctions of Islam as can be given legislative effect. The Commission shall submit its final report within five years of its appointment, and may submit any interim report earlier. The report, whether interim or final, shall be laid before the National Assembly within six months of its receipt and the Assembly after considering the report shall enact laws in respect thereof (4) Nothing in this Article shall affect the personal laws of non-Muslim citizens, or their status as citizens, or any provision of the Constitution."

Pakistan's adoption of her Constitution is a great achievement. It will end the frustration of long delay, and make possible in 1957 the country's first national elections on the basis of direct, adult suffrage. The new National Assembly will have power to deal with such important matters as the Principle of Electorate and the relation of the Injunctions of Islam to the laws of Pakistan. The Constitution leaves the door open for just solutions of these controversial issues. A final brief survey of certain constitutional provisions gives ground for optimism.

The door to joint electorates has been kept open. Whereas the Basic Principles Report of 1952 prescribed separate electorates and even scheduled the number of seats allowed to each religious community, the Constitution empowers the National Assembly to enact legislation on this question. The admission of the minorities to membership in popular political parties, hitherto composed only of Muslims, and the presence of a larger number of minority representatives in the National Assembly as a result of adult suffrage, will operate toward the eventual acceptance of joint electorates. The consciousness of religious differences may diminish.

The problem of Quranic law in relation to secular law remains to be worked out satisfactorily. It is a far cry from the "Mullah Board" of the B.P.R. to the present provisions under which the National Assembly will deal with a Commission's recommendations, due five years hence. In an atmosphere free of the hysteria connected with the provisions for an Islamic name and for reserving the Presidency for a Muslim, Islamic scholars and constitutional lawyers should be able to formulate a reasonable report.

The concessions to East Pakistan, as a zone, also serve to measure progress toward democratic government. The narrow provisions written into the B.P.R. had to give way by stages to the present provisions for a one-house National Assembly meeting once a year in Dacca, for parity in the services of the country, and for automony in certain subjects of legislation, such as railways. No doubt more provisions for provincial autonomy will be worked out in the future. United under a Constitution, the two Provinces can act without being suspected of subversive intentions.

In explanation of the Emergency Provisions opposed by many of Pakistan's own citizens, it must be said that the experience of the people has made the dissolving of legislatures by proclamation, preventive detention, and the abrogation of civil rights seem normal. Before Independence, political leaders who worked for freedom or other rights were imprisoned for years at a time by the British government. Since 1947, opponents of political parties in power have been gaoled, or banished from the areas where they have influence. The Constitutional Debates from 1947 to 1956 show that to this day political arrests are taken for granted.

Finally, in evaluating the achievement of the new Constitution, the education in the democratic process inherent in constitution-making itself should not be overlooked. The legislators learned that they could not force the adoption of provisions unacceptable to any particular element. The lessons of eight years and a half will not be lost. Of the utmost significance, too, is the quality of the parliamentary procedure recorded in the Official Reports of the Constitutional Debates. A nation accustomed to dealing with issues on the floor of the national legislature in full and free debate is already on the road to democracy.

It should never be forgotten that the heritage left the subcontinent by Britain included a system of constitutional government and that the charters of India and Pakistan owe much to Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. By choosing to remain within the Commonwealth, Pakistan has signified her desire to belong to "a free association of free and independent countries."

The interplay of the more flexible provisions of the Constitution may be expected to bring into operation democratic measures such as, heretofore, Pakistan has not known. As in all democracies, the people—leaders and common men—must be prepared for the responsibility of citizenship by free universal education. The desire for justice and fair play grows slowly. Public opinion within a country cannot be hurried. Pakistan's Constitution is an instrument that will allow for growth in democratic experience. "We have given ourselves a Constitution that embodies our aspirations," said Prime Minister Muhammad Ali. "Today we possess a visible living symbol of the unity of our nation— a symbol that gives sanctity to our democratic urges and ensures their realization." [3] Though 't may be true that many thorny issues are in effect only postponed, their intricacy will all the more readily yield to patient counsel and wise decision, for the now accomplished fact of the Pakistan Constitution. For the genesis of a Constitution is only the promise of a finality that time and experience must shape.

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[3] The date was March 23, 1956. It was sixteen years to the day since Mr. Fazlul-Haq, Minister of the Interior, had moved the historic resolution of the All-India Muslim League in Lahore, 1940, when the Pakistan demand was adopted. It was he who now moved the resolution to declare Pakistan an Islamic Republic. The Governor General, Iskander Mirza, had signed the bill embodying the Constitution, on March 2, and on March 5 he was appointed provisional President.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Life of Muḥammad.** A translation of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* by A. Guillaume, pp. xlvii, 815. Oxford University Press, London, 1955, 63 shillings.

Professor Guillaume performed a valuable service by presenting Ibn Isḥāq's biography of Muḥammad for the first time in an English translation. This is the earliest extant biography of the Prophet, and on that account alone it is important to have an English version of it; but it is also valuable for its own sake, as Ibn Isḥāq was a discriminating biographer. While we do not have the whole of what he wrote, we have the main part of it preserved in Ibn Hishām's recension, and preserved in such a way that it is possible to isolate Ibn Isḥāq's work from Ibn Hishām's additions. This editor's practice when making an addition is to preface it with "Ibn Hishām said," and when he is finished he resumes the main work with "Ibn Isḥāq said." Professor Guillaume has taken out the Ibn Hishām additions and grouped them together at the end of the book, indicating their position in the biography. He thus gives Ibn Isḥāq's text without interruption, and he has inserted at suitable places quotations from Ibn Isḥāq by other authors, notably Al-Ṭabarī, which are not included in Ibn Hishām's recension. This translation therefore presents as complete a text of Ibn Isḥāq as it is possible to produce. "It has been my aim," says Professor Guillaume, "to restore as far as is now possible the text of Ibn Isḥāq as it left his pen or as he dictated it to his hearers, from excerpts in later texts, disregarding the *Mabdaʾ* section as Ibn Hishām did."

Different views were held regarding Ibn Isḥāq's reliability by Muslim scholars in his time and afterwards. A collection of such views, for and against, is given in the Introduction from Ibn Sayyid al-Nās's *ʿUyūn al-Athar*. While many speak highly of him, his detractors vary in their opinion, some regarding him as an authority on biographical details but not on legal matters, others refusing to have anything to do with him. We are here interested in him as a biographer, and there is every reason to believe that he tried to be as accurate as possible. Some have blamed him for not always giving complete chains of authority for his material, but in doing so they have made the mistake of imagining that the complete *isnāds* which are found with great regularity in the later collections of *Ḥadīth* had existed from the beginning. Ibn Isḥāq often does give complete *isnāds*, but more often he does not, and the present writer feels, as he has argued elsewhere, [1] that Ibn Isḥāq is honestly giving his authority as he received it. He further shows his honesty by the manner in which he indicates by one turn of expression or another that while he includes certain items he has his doubts about their reliability. Professor Guillaume has drawn attention to some of these turns of expression in the Introduction. Everything considered, it can be said that Ibn Isḥāq provides as reliable a biography of Muḥammad as it was possible for a man of his time

[1] Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, March, 1956.

to produce. He was born in Medina about 85 A.H. and died in 151, and he was in touch with the leading authorities of his day.

The present work has a helpful introduction which discusses precursors of the *Sīrah,* Ibn Isḥāq's work, his characteristics, the poetry quoted, his reputation, his editor Ibn Hishām, and ends by summarising a fragment from the lost book of Mūsā b. ʿUqba. If Ibn Isḥāq is to be considered reliable in general, the same cannot be said about the poetry which he quotes so often. Ibn Hishām himself frequently remarks that Ibn Isḥāq is wrong in what he says about the authorship of verses, and others have spoken even more strongly. The matter is discussed in the Introduction, and reference is made to some recent research which suggests that most of the poetry is spurious. It would seem that Ibn Isḥāq was not gifted with poetic appreciation and that he simply reproduced the poetry he received. To readers of this book the poetry will probably not matter so much as the biographical details. But one is grateful to Professor Guillaume for his discussion of the subject, and also for his translation of the poems which must often have proved a very difficult task.

The translation of the biography has been very well done in idiomatic English. While it is a faithful translation, it very wisely omits some of the repetitions of words and phrases so common in Arabic writing. Indirect speech is generally substituted for direct, as this is a more natural English style. Professor Guillaume very modestly says, "My predecessors in translating the *Sīra* have made many mistakes and I cannot hope to have escaped all the pitfalls." In this connection one can only say that where the translation has been tested by reference to the original no point of any moment has been noticed. The translation is very good and very readable. The page numbers in Wüstenfeld's edition of the Arabic text are indicated in the margin, as also the references for additional material included in the translation.

Indexes of proper names, of men who appear in *isnāds,* of books cited and of subjects are supplied. A word of criticism may be said of the index of books. Quite a number of the books cited do not appear in this index, and the books are listed according to the title, with no reference in the index to the author. An index of contractions explaining what they represent would have been a help. Three contractions are explained on page 3, but there are a number of others which may not be clear to everyone. There is an unfortunate slip on the title page where the work is called "A translation of Isḥāq's *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh.*" The author is correctly called Ibn Isḥāq on pp. xiii and xiv, and thereafter I. I.

These are small points in comparison with the magnitude of the task which has been so successfully accomplished. One is grateful for this accurate and attractive translation and for the helpful foot-notes which are supplied where necessary.

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**Jews and Arabs.** By S. D. Goitein, New York, Schocken Books, Inc., pp. XIII + 257, 1955 $ 4.00

The author of this book, chairman of the School of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University, is a well-known Biblical scholar and the

editor of a part of Al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*. It is to be regretted that Professor Goitein has turned to other fields of research and writing before completing the Balādhurī manuscript.

When Professor Goitein was in the United States as a visiting professor three years ago, he gave a series of lectures on Arab-Jewish relations which were later published in the *Jewish Observer and the Middle East* (London). But when Mr. Schocken invited Professor Goitein to write a book on the subject, those lectures were revised and expanded before they were published in a book form.

Except for certain concluding remarks on the present political impasse in Arab-Jewish relations, the book deals exclusively with the history and cultural relations between Arabs and Jews from ancient times. The reader of this book, however, cannot help thinking of the political problems connected with this subject, for it is certain that this book was written with the purpose of giving the historical and cultural background of a pending political issue.

The theme of the book is epitomized in what the author calls the Arab-Jewish symbiosis: that traditionally the two peoples had common origin, had contributed in the past to the development of each other's culture, and had suffered throughout the ages from foreign rule. And yet they are in conflict now.

The story of the "Jewish-Arab symbiosis" is not related uncritically. As to its beginning, Professor Goitein asserts that "the relations between the two peoples go back to the most remote times" (p. 5), although at the top of the same page he gives the specific date as the 9th century B. C. He criticizes the commonly accepted theory of the Semitic origin of Arabs and Jews (pp. 20-21) and rejects the traditional theory that the Arabs were descended from Ish-mael. He maintains that the name Ishmael, originally referring to a people that disappeared, was later applied as a common name to all people of the desert, including the Arabs (p. 22). He also questions the validity of the term "cousins," applied first by the Jews to the Arabs, later to be accepted by the Arabs themselves (p. 22). He does not accept the historical existence of a Semitic race nor the so-called Semitic migrations (p. 23), since the term Semitic refers to a language, not to a race. All these commonly accepted assumptions, according to Professor Goitein, must be rejected as historical facts. He also questions the "affinity" between Arabs and Jews, since, as he hinted, there is no means of determining this fact (p. 32).

Apart from the question of affinity the two people have actually met and in their contacts throughout the ages they have left an impact on the culture of each other. These historical contacts are discussed with considerable detail, especially the contribution of Jewish scholars to Muslim civilization. While Professor Goitein admits that Muslim civilization has greatly enriched Jewish lfe and thought, he resents the legal limitations and social prejudices which reduced the Jews (as well as the Christians) into second-rate citizens. Any evaluation of the status of the *dhimmīs* (Jews, Christians etc.) under Muslim rule, however, must be measured not merely in terms of the disabilities or sufferings at the hands of certain careless Caliphs, but of the general

spirit of tolerance embodied in the law, and this must also be judged in terms of the relative prosperity and security enjoyed by the Muslim community at large.

In his sweeping historical exposition the author makes a number of generalizations and errors. He does not specify that the term "Arab" had the double meaning of "nomads" as well as the sedentary population (p. 43); he characterizes Muslim civilization as secular (p. 125); and he seems to be in favor of the rise of an Egyptian national language (p. 134). On the dissimilarity between the system of inheritance in Islam and Judaism he remarks that Islamic law splits up the inherited fortune into small shares and that the daughters always have a part in the estate. This law, in Professor Goitein's opinion, was based on the law of tribal warfare. Students of Islamic law, however, will disagree with Professor Goitein's interpretation; for, as is well known, the Arabian tribal law denied the daughters the right of inheritance and it was Islam that introduced the law that enabled the daughters to inherit.

Dr. Goitein's book, however, contains valuable materials and remarks about Jewish Oriental communities (in particular the Yamanite Jews) and he does not over-estimate the difficulties arising from the assimilation of these communities into the life of a modern nation. Professor Goitein is entirely justified in the cultural approach to his subject; for, as he has stated in the introduction and the conclusion, the nature of Arab-Jewish relations can be clarified only if the historical and cultural background is thoroughly understood.

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**The Middle East, Oil and the Great Powers.** By Benjamin Shwadran, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. pp. xii, 500, Bibliography, index. $ 7.00.

As the first comprehensive survey of the political and social role of the oil industry throughout the Middle East, Mr. Shwadran's book is highly to be commended for its impressive array of factual information. Even the specialist on the area will be grateful for the detailed summaries of official and unofficial documents and reports not easily accessible in their original form. Particularly interesting and enlightening is his account of the international manoeuvrings surrounding the acquisition by American interests of the immensely valuable concession in Saudi Arabia. Footnotes offer documentary evidence for every statement made, and there is a 34-page annotated bibliography at the end. The obvious care that Mr. Shwadran has taken to check his facts has not saved him wholly from error. There are too many irritating misspellings of Middle Eastern names, small mistakes in dates, and inaccurate historical sequences — though it is only fair to add that these are seldom seriously misleading.

Inevitably the book suffers from the attempt to compress into 450 pages the historical, political, social, economic and industrial aspects of oil throughout the whole Middle East area. At the same time the rigid geographical division of the book results in a certain amount of confusion and repetition, particularly when the author is discussing Anglo-

American rivalry after World War I, and the negotiations of the I.P.C. with governments all over the "Red Line" area, extending from Turkey to the Persian Gulf.

These are relatively minor matters. But on two other counts it is difficult to give whole-hearted commendation to this work. Most remarkable is the entire omission (except in two shy footnotes) of any reference to the part played in Middle Eastern oil politics by the international petroleum cartel, of which such a detailed account was given in the report published by the U.S. Federal Trade Commission in 1952. While the charge of cartel activity may not have been proved to legal satisfaction, it is unrealistic to ignore it altogether in analysing such matters as the failure of the nationalised Iranian oil industry to market its products abroad, or the marketing and pipeline agreements between American and British companies during the post-World War II years.

More regrettable is the superficial treatment of the social-economic forces at work in the Middle East. Mr. Shwadran, like several other reputable writers, is inclined to allow his natural admiration for the example of Israel to blind him to the fact that the political and economic techniques exploited in that country are as alien to the problems of the Asian Middle East as are those of the United States and Europe. Coupled with this is his evident failure to give sufficient weight to the facts and opinions thought important by the Middle Eastern peoples themselves. For proof of this one need look no further than his bibliography, where less than 7% of the items are of Middle Eastern origin, and a mere 1% in languages of the area.

These two aspects of Mr. Shwadran's approach to his subject probably account for his cavalier, and at times contemptuous, assessment of Arab and Iranian capacity for responsible government. "Most of these states," he writes in his opening paragraph, "lacking in experience as well as appreciation and even understanding of the importance and basic significance as well as responsibilities of independence, and in the understanding of economic determinants and social forces, suffer from instability." This is to dismiss altogether too lightly the remarkable social and economic progress of this area during the past fifty years, very little of which, outside the Arabian peninsula, owes its stimulus to the rise of the oil industry. The lavish use of statistics proves nothing so long as there is no standard of comparison. Nor is it altogether without reason that Middle Eastern observers claim that foreign intervention has retarded, rather than accelerated, the growth of a modern society in their countries.

It would be exaggerating to say that Mr. Shwadran has told only half the story; but there are nevertheless serious omissions of fact and judgment in what is otherwise a valuable and informative record.

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**Dynamite in the Middle East.** by Khalil Totah, Philosophical Library, New York, 1955. pp. 240, one map, $ 3.75.

This book, written by Dr. Totah shortly before his death, is the account of a visit he made to the countries of the Middle East in March

1952. It is unfortunate that it should not have been published sooner, because so much has happened in Middle East since then including the Egyptian revolution, that much of the value of the book has been destroyed by the mere passage of time. The chief value of this account is that it presents to the Western reader what he normally finds difficult to discover, the reactions of an ordinary educated Arab to the day-to-day Middle Eastern events. Many of Dr. Totah's comments may seem to those who know the Middle East to be a little superficial and even rather naive. However, this in itself is valuable because the ordinary person does not normally make profound judgments and it cannot be said too often that what people think is itself a political fact. There is no doubt that a great many Arabs would react very much as Dr. Totah has done to what he saw and heard. He brings out well the unhappy resentment against the West, and against any who may be held in some way responsible for a tragic situation in which the people of the country feel lost and leaderless.

Dr. Totah is at his best in this book when he is describing the various people whom he met. He conveys effectively the charm and personality of Ḥājj Amīn al-Husainī, the former Mufti of Palestine, and the character of the government leaders in Iraq, with their sincere efforts to plan for the future and their tendency to think that government for the people is more effective than government by the people. He is less sound in summing up situations and his outright condemnation of Jordan as a "police state" and merely the puppet of the British, when compared with the complete freedom which he seemed to think existed in Syria at the time of his visit, is somewhat sweeping. In one case his comments are even a little unkind,for he speaks of Mūsā ᶜAlamī as having been "weighed in the balances and found wanting," an unduly scathing judgment to be made by an Arab who accepted American citizenship and lived for the last eight years in California. Many Arabs, it is true, do not agree with Mūsā ᶜAlami's schemes, but he has chosen to give his life to working in the Jordan Valley, where, as Dr. Totah says, "the former inhabitants of Palestine dwell in misery."

It is a pity that so much of the book is occupied with trivia, such as the fact that Dr Totah decided not to have lunch in the plane. These are out of place in a book which claims to deal with dynamite. There is a somewhat vague map, so drawn as to make it necessary to turn the book completely upside down if it is to be read. Surely it is time that publishers set a higher standard in these things.

*New York, N.Y.* DENIS BALY

## SHORTER NOTICES

**Religions, Mythologies, Folklores.** By Katherine Smith Diehl, The Scarecrow Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1956, pp. 315, $ 6.50.

This annotated bibliography is intended as an introduction to the faith and practice of all cultures, for the use both of librarians and readers. There are 1,240 entries covering mainly, but not exclusively, English books and periodicals. The index occupies 65 pages. The list is divided into three sections: Universal Religious Knowledge, Religions exclusive of the Judaeo-Christian Tradition and The Judaeo-Christian Tradition. Seven pages are devoted to Islam. It might seem invidious to comment on the significant omissions here. They, however, are consequent upon the author's conviction that a useful biliography of so vast a field could be compiled in so short a space. But the conviction has been painstakingly served.

**Emergent Turkish Administrators.** By A. T. J. Matthews, A Publication of the Institute of Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Science, University of Ankara, Ankara, 1955, pp. 76.

An English version of a study by a teacher of sociology in the American University of Beirut of the emergence of a new type of administrative official in Turkey and of the factors leading to the shaping of thought and action in this significant segment of the community. The author sets out to investigate the vocational and social attitudes of the administrators, their education and their occupational activities. There are in all sixty-one tables of percentage reaction to a variety of topics. The attitude, for example, to the teaching of religion in the public schools is found to be good, while "over 74% of the administrators are certain that Islam is capable of meeting the needs of modern life. Less than 14% doubt its adequacy." (p. 57.) Altogether this is an illuminating survey in so far as statistical 'breakdowns' can really measure imponderables. But why does the writer call his Foreword 'Forward'?

**Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.** By William Popper, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1955, pp. 120, $ 1.50.

Volume xv of the University of California's Publications in Semitic Philology, this book supplies systematic notes to the translation of Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Annals, published by the author in 1954 as Volumes xiii and xiv of the same series. He has made a painstaking effort to identify the geographical details of cities, provinces and boundaries during the period, as well as of the secretaries in the Mameluke government. He has relied mainly on Al-Qalqashandī and Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī. The result is an interesting tabulated compendium of information about Mameluke Egypt in the 15th century: there are twenty-two city and provincial maps.

**Science, Democracy and Islam and other Essays.** By Humayun Kabir, George, Allen and Unwin, distributed by MacMillan, London, 1955, pp. 126, $ 3.00.

A wellknown Indian educator and philosopher presents a series of

eight essays, and gives the book the title of the first: "Science, Democracy and Islam." He holds that the pursuit of scientific truth can only effectively proceed within a religious culture. Islam, he believes, is highly fitted for this role in the nurture of a scientific, liberal civilization. There are many familiar echoes of contemporary thinking ("The problem of the 20th century is to reconcile the conflicting claims of liberty and security": "The basis of the Welfare State is recognition of the dignity of the individual:" etc), but outside the first essay there is no specific discussion of Islam. Even there, the relation of Islam to the other two themes is only very allusively drawn. Islam, it is said, shows in its basic concepts an "affinity to" the dominant principles that govern the growth of both science and democracy." "This affinity combined with the fact that the triumphant progress of science follows soon after the emergence of Islam lends strong force to the suggestion of a causal connection between them. What lends plausibility to this hypothesis is...the unbroken continuity in the development of science since the advent of Islam." (p. 15) This large claim is argued from the belief of Islam in a unitary world breaking down the distinction between the natural and the supernatural; its insistence on reason, not authority, as the basis of religion; the Muslim law of inheritance; the institution of *Zakāt* and the freedom of marriage. The largeness of this exposition is matched by the brevity of its expression. On themes so vast one would have been grateful for more discussion of the wide ramifications. What, for example, is the uninitiated to make of the following: "The assertion that he (Muḥammad) would be followed by reformers but not prophets can thus be explained as a recognition of this new achievement of the human mind. The age of miracles of faith was over. The age of the triumph of science had begun." (p. 20)? Was the final prophecy, then, a "new achievement of the human mind"? If not, must we reject this book? If so, must we rewrite the Prophet? Or is there a third alternative?

**Some Aspects of Education.** By Dr. Syed Ḥamid Ḥasan Bilgrami, Pakistan Universities Press, P. O. Box 294, Karachi, 1955, Rs. 2/8.

Five lectures deal with the Concept of Education in Islam and other themes on education by the author of *Glimpses of Iqbal's Mind and Thought*. Since Islam is "the only religion that challenges the intellect," it necessarily demands a unique educational philosophy. "With the Quran and the last Holy Prophet knowledge through Revelation was completed. But knowledge through realization and application started... This is why with Islam started the true scientific urge for knowledge." (p. 8 and 9). If the Qur'ān's being the last in a revelatory sequence is the basis of a scientific inauguration must it not be through discontinuity that the latter occurs? If not, then is there anything to preclude revelations not the last from positive continuity with intellectual pursuits? The question is similar to that left unanswered by Humayun Kabir above. Dr. Bilgrami insists that "by accepting Islam as the purpose of education, we will be adopting a 'Pattern of Life' which will neither prejudice the free spirit of discovery and inquiry needed by science nor will it import any sectional view of reality." (p. 17). The

appalling ignorance of the illiterate is a lesser evil than the ignorance of intellectuals who lack a sense of values and faith. Later essays deal briefly with some practical issues in Pakistani education.

**Die Turkei in den Jahren 1942-1951.** By Gotthard Jaschke, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1955, pp. 196.

The author, who is wellknown for his contribution to the history of 20th century Turkey, offers a day to day diary of events during these ten years, with careful annotations of articles in Turkish, European and American journals relating to the events listed. The result is a most useful compendium of information in a convenient and reliable form.

**Bibliography of Muslim Numismatics,** India Excepted. By L. A. Mayer, Second edition, London, the Royal Asiatic Society, 1954, pp. 282 and xii.

Compared with the first edition, published in 1939, the present one is not merely considerably enlarged but also greatly improved. After most titles, the dynasties mentioned in the relevant book, article or catalogue are listed. A copious index enables one to see at a glance what was written about the coinage of a given dynasty. Literature about coins issued after 1860, or published after 1950, has been excluded. Similarly literature dealing with coins issued by non-Muslim rulers, even if showing Arabic script, has been omitted. Despite these cuts, the second edition of this bibliography contains 2092 items as against 1281 in the first one. From the point of view of the history of Islamic studies it may be interesting to note that 166 books and articles registered here were published before 1800 and 69 before 1750.

**Studies in Muslim Law. Vol. 1. Batil and Fasid Marriages.** By N.U.A. Siddiqi, Iqbal Uddin Ahmad, 8 Husaini Dalan Road, Dacca, East Pakistan, 1955, pp. 380 and xxxii.

The writer, who is a Professor of Law at Dacca University, has presented with lucidity and skill the intricate theme of Muslim marriage law. He discusses at length the authority of the interpretations of the Qur'ān by Amīr ʿAlī and Baillie in this field, upon which since 1875 the courts of India have largely relied. Dr Siddiqi believes he finds these authorities at variance with the sense of the Qur'ān. An Arabic section of forty pages gives the Quranic passages involved in the analysis. Though it is marred by a very great number of misprints, this work brings together a mass of material and case law on the question of when marriage is void and when it is improper in Islam.

**Current Research on the Middle East, 1955.** The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C. pp. 196.

The Middle East Institute has performed a most useful service in eliciting from a variety of scholars and researchers this compendium of information on academic enterprise in the field of its interest. The Editors are Harvey P. Hall and Ann W. Noyes, with the help of an advisory committee. Their aim has been not only to make available information on studies being pursued but also to help bring together researches in different disciplines which suffer from their relative

exclusiveness, particularly orientalism proper and the newer sociology. It is hoped to supplement this publication with annual surveys reporting on current progress. It is at once fascinating and intriguing to browse in these pages and discover who is doing what and where and when. It is quite an achievement to have recorded so much promise.

**The Shaikh and His Sufism.** By ᶜAbdul ᶜAlī, The Diocesan Press, Madras, India, 1954, pp. 89, Rs.2.

Shaikh ᶜAbd al Qādir al Jilānī is here studied against the background of his own *khutbas*. After discussing briefly their historic context, the writer evaluates the Shaikh's ruling concept of disciplined action for good and deplores the false adulation of his memory in an idle spirituality. His Sufism was essentially "the path of the righteous worker." (p. 72.)

**Standard Colloquial Arabic.** By Elias N. Haddad and Jalil Z. Irany, Jerusalem, 3rd Edition, 1955, pp. 144 in Arabic, 48 in English.

A most welcome new edition of a work that has established itself for thirty-five years as a manual of Palestinian colloquial Arabic. It has now been extensively enlarged and re-written with more up-to-date reading selections. It embodies the experience of teaching the Arabic vernacular to western students and pre-supposes a 'native' teacher. The use of Arabic script, for vernacular language though always regretted by the literary scholars and purists, has much to recommend it. The learning of Arabic in transliteration is a mischievous proceeding from most points of view. After a brief analysis of the main grammar, there are graduated Arabic passages on common themes and usages. The editors are to be congratulated on their enterprise.

**Tarājim al-Fuḍalāʾ.** A Chapter of *Amad-Namah* of Faḍl-i-Imām Khayrabādī, edited by Intizamullah Shihābī, the Pakistan Historical Society, 30, New Karachi Co-operative Housing Society, Karachi, 1159, pp. 69.

A.S. Bazmee Ansārī has here rendered into English one of the Persian *tadhkirahs* recording the names and works of leading *ᶜUlamāʾ* belonging to the vicinity of the author, Faḍl-i-Imām Khayrabādī who was a predecessor of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. The author died in 1244 A.H. The notices about the scholars are very brief. The translator has supplied annotations to the works referred to in the lists. The whole is reprinted from the journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.

**A Thousand and One Arabic Proverbs.** By Dalal Khalil Safadi and Victoria Safadi Basha, Clifton Terrace, N.W. Washington, D.C. 1956, pp. 156.

The authors have gathered together and arranged this selection from most of the Arab countries and have printed the proverbs in colloquial Arabic with an English rendering, (with sometimes a marked slant: e.g. "An accidental meeting is better than a date.") Who, however, can review a book of proverbs? Pundits may cavil at some renderings, but it is well to remember that "The strainer will not fill the water-skins." Here is wit and wisdom where certainly "the guest is captive of the host."

**Crescent and Green, A Miscellany of Writings on Pakistan.** The Philosophical Library, New York, 1956, pp. 170.

A delightful series of sixteen papers by various writers on aspects of the new Republic of Pakistan, this represents a welcome and timely volume. The authors are both Pakistanī and Western. The articles have been reprinted from elsewhere and collected here as a contribution to the understanding of a great contemporary Muslim experiment. Seven contributors deal with history, three on art and there are three discussions of Iqbāl, his relation to the West, to democracy and to Dante. There are twenty black and white illustrations. Brevity is no doubt of the essence here: the pity of it is perhaps acutest in A.S. Bokhari's "The Urdu Writer of our Times," (pp. 113-119.)

**The Independence Movements in Arab North Africa.** Alāl al-Fāsi. Translated from the Arabic by Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh, American Council of Learned Societies, 1954. pp. 414,

No. 8 in the American Council's Translation series is a complete rendering of *Al-Ḥarakat al Istiqlāliyyah fi-l-Maghrib al-ᶜArabī,* first published in Cairo in 1948. This Arabic work was written at the request of the Cultural Bureau of the Arab League. The major part of it is devoted to Morocco and to the history of the Istiqlāl Party in that country. The first seventy or so pages, however, are devoted to the history of Algeria and Tunisia from the time of the French occupation in 1834 and 1882 respectively. The availability of this work in English is, of course, useful, but it may be permitted to doubt whether, within the limits of the Arabic Translation program of the A.C.L.S., it represents a most desirable choice. Too many significant and original Arabic works still await the attentions of the translator and publisher. Much too has happened in Morocco since 1948.

**Al-Thaqāfat al-Islāmiyyah wa-l-Ḥayāt al-Muᶜāṣirah.** By Muḥammad Khalafallāh, Franklin Publication, Cairo, 1956, pp. 582. 80 piastres.

The Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Alexandria has had a difficult task in the preparation for the press of this volume, so that the two and a half years that have elapsed since the Princeton Colloquium on Islamic Culture may be forgiven him. None the less this volume has been eagerly awaited. It comprises the main papers presented to the Colloquium by the participants printed and published in Arabic, with the high standard of publishing work that we have come to expect from Franklin Publications. The papers are arranged under the following sections: Islam and Life; Islam and the West; Islamic History and Society and Islam in its own Territories. There are in all some 35 papers covering themes on Islamic Philosophy, Humanity and Freedom in Islam, Communism and Islam, Dervish Orders, Archaeology and Social Reform and much more. Dr. Khalafallāh contributes a foreword together with Dr. Bayard Dodge while Dr Philip Ḥittī writes an epilogue. The English text of some of the papers appeared in *The Middle East Journal* and *The Muslim World* during 1954. There are brief abstracts of each paper at the close of the book. Participants and others will be grateful for this permanent record in Arabic of the Colloquium, the more so as there are plans to renew in 1957 the fruitful contacts of 1953.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

**Water Reserves in Saudi Arabia.** Radio Mecca in March, 1956, reported the discovery of extensive underground reservoirs of water in the vicinity of the capital, Riyāḍ. There had been fears for the water supply of the city but these are now entirely dispelled. Commenting that "the discovery of this water reservoir is equal in importance to the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia," Radio Mecca adds that it will meet all the country's agricultural needs. The reservoir is some 800 kilometers long, 100 kilometers wide and 400 kilometers deep. It is expected to yield a daily minimum supply of about one million gallons.

**The Pilgrimage, 1376 A. H.** Dr. Ḥasan Nāsīf, Director of the Technical Advisory Office of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Health has made several suggestions to the Directorate of the Pilgrimage. One concerns the water of the Well of Zamzam, which, he says, should be drawn out of the well by a pump and the well itself sealed. To obviate infection the water should be exposed to ultra-violet rays for disinfection and conveyed to the Mosque by pipes. Dr. Nāsīf believes it is necessary to destroy the tradition that water cannot be drawn from the well by mechanical means. He also advocates — if Islam allows — a doubling of the circumambulation area so that it may be wide enough for pilgrims to perform the *Ṭawwāf* while using sunshades to avoid sunstroke. He proposes further that the space for running between Al-Ṣafā and Marwah shall be enlarged. Al-Haswah, the pebble-covered area around the Kaʿbah he believes should be tiled over to facilitate cleansing and diminish the accumulation of dirt. The construction of buildings for pilgrim use is also advocated, as well as improvements in the ventilation and sanitary amenities. A first-aid clinic, to handle sunstroke cases especially, is desirable within the precincts. It is hoped that these measures will be put in hand during the current repair and extension of the Great Mosque.

Meanwhile it is expected that the 1376 A. H. pilgrim aggregate will be larger than in 1375. Twelve thousand pilgrims are expected to travel from Indonesia. The Egyptian figure is estimated at 44,000. Egypt is issuing special pilgrim passports to save pilgrims the expense and trouble of securing regular passports. Pilgrim fees are LE 72 for first class travel, LE 62 for second class, and LE 50 for third class. This covers the round trip by boat and guide fees in Mecca and Medina. There will be a deduction of LE 9 for those wishing only to visit Mecca and not the Prophet's Tomb in Medina. A metal case and a cloth travelling bag will be issued gratis to every pilgrim travelling by boat. Persons between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-nine are required to produce certificates from the local ʿUmdah that they are not needed for military service. There is a 20 % reduction for Egyptian Government employees (who must have the approval of their departmental superiors) for themselves and up to four of their dependents, by arrangement between the Government and the steamship company.

**Classical and Colloquial.** An editorial in *Al-Bilād al-Saᶜūdiyyah,* by the editor Aḥmad al-Sibāᶜī, deplores the habit of Saudi students using Egyptian colloquial Arabic in plays and dramas performed in the country. "This," he writes, "is indeed unfortunate. Classical Arabic should be encouraged among students because it is infinitely more beautiful. It is correct and it is common to all the Arab states and suggestive of the mutual ties of the Arab people." Egyptian dramatists themselves have been in a dilemma over this problem, with an increasing tendency to solve it in favor of the classicists, at the risk of making their characters sound a little unreal and stilted.

**Women's Suffrage in Egypt.** New election regulations, following on the Egyptian Constitution of January last, make voting obligatory for all males over 21 years of age. Women are allowed to vote if they so choose and if they take special steps in advance to register their names on the electoral roll.

**Road Links between Arab Capitals.** Egyptian engineers have under active study a plan for a road network linking the Arab capitals. The first step is a projected road from the Gulf of ᶜAqabah southward to Jiddah and Mecca and northward to ᶜAmmān, where it would link with the Damascus-Baghdad road. From the Egyptian point of view the road system will open up access to mining and oil areas in Wādī Firan, Abū Zunaymah and Ras Sidr, as well as the St Catherine's Monastery. A section of this network between Suez and the Gulf of ᶜAqabah is expected to be completed by the end of 1957.

**Oil and Water in Kuwait.** It has long been wellknown that water is more costly in Kuwait than oil. Indeed, natural gas supplied virtually free of charge by the oil company, enables the operation of a vast plant for the distillation of sea water. The apparatus cost over eight million dollars and produces two million gallons of drinking water daily. But this amount is rapidly becoming insufficient for the water needs of the Shaikhdom. The area has little or no natural water resources of its own. Before oil days the Kuwaitis brought water by boat from the mouth of the Persian Gulf — the Shaṭṭ al-ᶜArab. They had an excellent harbor and no wells. In 1953, Kuwait opened negotiations with Iraq for a pipe line from the Shaṭṭ area to carry one hundred million gallons daily, two-thirds of which supply would be available for agricultural purposes. Iraq has asked in return for a 99 years, lease of a small piece of Kuwaitī territory close to Umm Qaṣr in Iraqi soil where Iraq wishes to develop a second gulf port to supplement Basrah. The Kuwait authorities have hitherto balked at acceptance of this request. But need for water and for agriculture in Kuwait increases.

**"The Problem of the Cross."** A letter to the Editor of *Al-Bilād al-Saᶜūdiyyah,* in March last, complained about the import into the Saudi Kingdom of clothing and carpets having crosses in their pattern. "The Cross" said the writer, "is a serious problem and a grave danger. It has entered our homes and infiltrated our way of life. Yet we seem to be oblivious of its danger. It is embroidered on our clothing

and on our prayer rugs in an attempt to spread subversive ideas among us and to lure us away from our faith. We can easily dispense with clothes and prayer rugs that bear this Christian symbol behind which lurks a secret of which we do not seem to be aware." The hope was expressed that a *fatwa* would be issued prohibiting the import of such articles. The same journal reports the reading in all mosques in the Kingdom of a discourse by the Head of Religious Affairs against the ostentatious use of gold and habits of luxury by the well-to-do.

**U.N.R.W.A.'s Deficit.** When the United Nations' Relief and Works Agency reported a deficit in 1955 Samīr al-Rifāʿī, Jordanian Premier, made the comment: "It is true that, politically speaking, half a million refugees in Jordan are Jordanian nationals, but their support is the responsibility of the United Nations...U.N.R.W.A. is not a charitable organization to which people may or may not contribute as they see fit. On the contrary, it is a statutory body appointed by the United Nations and its duty and responsibility are to care for the refugees whom the Arabs consider to be the victims of a policy adopted by the United Nations. If U.N.R.W.A. finds it is unable to do so, then it must go back to the General Assembly and say so. It cannot divest itself of its responsibility." It is illuminating to reflect on this opinion. Saudi Arabia later promised a donation of $ 40,000 and $ 17,000 was offered by West Germany. The United States undertook to meet the remaining deficit.

**"The Lord of the Worlds."** We are grateful to note the comment on our January editorial, in *The Muslim Sunrise,* the quarterly published by the American Fazl Mosque in Washington. An editorial there in the first issue of 1956 remarks: "For the last few issues our worthy contemporary *The Muslim World*...has been writing some very enlightening editorials on familiar phrases picked from the Holy Qurʾān. These editorials are earnest and stimulating in their approach...The very idea is truly commendable. It not only invites a fellow Christian to appreciate some of the teachings of Islam but also induces a Muslim to reflect on its beauties." Our gratitude springs from the fact of our long hope for just such fruitful colloquy with responsive Muslim minds. For if we would merit to be understood we must take pains to understand. If *The Muslim Sunrise* thinks it quite natural we should end by calling Muslims to the Cross and the Resurrection, let us assure its readers that we do so in no carping spirit but simply because that is where our conviction rests. May we add here, in the light of *The Muslim Sunrise* editorial, that we share together this profound belief in the Divine prerogative of forgiveness because the Lord of the worlds is truly the *Raḥmān* and the *Raḥīm.* We see in the Cross of Christ, not something superfluous to that mercy but its forgiving prerogative sublimely at work. To think of the Cross as the locus of God's forgiving mercy is not, for us, a reflection *against* the fullness of that mercy, but rather a reflection *of* it. But only in charity can we either see or serve such an issue.

**Miscellanea.** Dr. Edwin E. Calverley, Co-Editor and Visiting Professor in the American University at Cairo, contributed an article to the February, 1956 issue of *Al-Hilāl,* on "Some Western MisConceptions about Islam."

The Arab Workers Congress, meeting at Damascus in March, 1956 established an Arab Trade Union Federation, comprising the trade unions of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Libya. Its aims are to achieve a higher standard of living for industrial and agricultural workers in these countries, to unify legislation affecting workers, to increase productive capacities and to encourage co-operative movements. The Congress also passed a resolution opposing any attempt at peace with Israel, and resisting the 'Johnston' plan for the development of the water resources of the Jordan River for the mutual benefit of Israel and Jordan. The State of Iraq was denounced for its alleged anti-Labor legislation.

Arab States and shaikhdoms in which there is oil exploitation received about 1 million-million dollars in oil revenues in the year 1955.

Egyptian authorities have banned showings of a French film on "Napoleon" in protest against French policies in North Africa.

Radio Ṣanāᶜ in the Yaman has introduced a new program this year in the observance of Ramaḍān. It will broadcast, as well as Quranic readings, special talks on social and moral problems and health education. This is intended to serve a true *iᶜtikāf* during the sacred fast.

At an April 1956 meeting in Cairo the Political Committee of the Arab League recommended that Palestine refugees should be prevented from emigrating to foreign countries.

A strike of school-teachers in West Jordan affected some 100,000 students and involved some five thousand teachers, seeking higher pay.

A University is to be established in Baghdad. It will be the first state university in Iraq. King Saud of Arabia has made a donation of 25,000 rupees to the Nadwat-al-ᶜUlamaᵓ Academy in Lucknow, India.

The first issue of *Aḍwāᵓ al-Madīnah,* a new monthly student magazine in Jiddah, contains excerpts from George Bernard Shaw, as well as biographical notes on Shakespeare, Tolstoy and Somerset Maugham.

Secondary school students in Damascus petitioned the Syrian Chamber of deputies to expel Khāliḍ Bakdash, leader of the Syrian Communist Party, from the Chamber for the reason that, at the 20th Communist Party Congress in Moscow, he sat next to an Israeli delegate. Several deputies and press articles attacked him for the same reason.

It was earlier reported that there were no deaths among pilgrims to Mecca during the 1375 A. H. pilgrim season. Later statistics issued by the Ministry of Health in Saudi Arabia indicate that with the completion of the pilgrim year the total number of deaths is 22 short of one thousand. 137 Pakistanis — the largest single national group — died during the Ḥājj.

The death occurred in Beirut in February last of Shaikh Aḥmad Khalīl al-Sharqāwī, who was born in Ṭanṭa, Egypt about 123 years ago. He married fifteen times and was survived by forty sons and 140 grandchildren. He visited the United States about a century ago.

The Egyptian Government has dissolved its Ministry of Sudanese Affairs, transferring its functions to the Foreign Ministry.

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

### I. GENERAL

L'AVENIR DE LA CULTURE NATIONALE EN TUNISIE. M. Lelong. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1955, part 1. pp. 127-132. The analysis of a questionnaire circulated among Tunisian intellectuals.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The* Middle East Journal, Washington, D.C. Autumn, 1955. pp. 433-447. Covers June 1 to August 31, 1955 and stresses the Moroccan, Egyptian, and Turko-Greek difficulties.

THE ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF NEUTRAL TERRITORIES. Alexander Melamid. *The Geographical Review,* New York. July, 1955. pp. 359-374. Includes Saudi-Arabia, the Kuwait neutral zone, the Jordan-Israeli neutral zone, Tangier, and others.

FRESH TREASURES FROM EGYPT'S ANCIENT SANDS. Jefferson Caffery. *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D.C. November, 1955. pp. 611-650. Mainly concerned with the discovery and treatment of the solar boats.

INDEX DES REVUES TUNISIENNES PARUES DANS LA RÉGENCE DE 1868 À 1954. A. Van Leeuwen. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1955, part 1. pp. 153-167. Lists Arabic and French periodicals, thus providing material for students of Tunis during the last century.

ISLAMISCHE UND ABENDLÄNDISCHE GESCHICHTSCHREIBUNG. Bertold. Spuler. *Saeculum,* Freiburg. 1955, part 2. pp. 125-137. Suggests possible influences on Christendom from Islamic historiography.

MOGHREB LEVANT, SUD-EST ASIATIQUE, AFRIQUE. Pierre Rondot. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1955, part 1. pp. 11-19. A study of French colonial experience and present thinking.

THE NEW JERUSALEM. Mary Stocks. *The Twentieth Century,* London. January, 1956. pp. 16-19. Expresses admiration for Jewish progress, but sympathizes with the predicament of the Arabs — especially the victimized refugees.

LO SCRITTORE AGIZIANO AḤMAD AMĪN. Umberto Rizzitano. *Oriente Moderno,* Rome. February, 1955. pp. 76-89. Discusses the life and work of this modern Egyptian (1886-1954).

### II. ARABIA

THE YEMEN. B. W. Seager. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1955. pp. 214-230. Gives a brief historical introduction and then discusses the present-day problems of the country under the rule of Imām Aḥmad.

### III. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

HETERODOX ISMĀ'ĪLISM AT THE TIME OF AL-MIR'IZZ. S. M. Stern. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London. 1955, part 1. pp. 10-33. A study, based on unpublished documents, showing two doctrines on the Imāmate in the tenth century.

L'OBLIGATION D'ORDONNER LE BIEN ET D'INTERDIRE LE MAL SELON AL-GHAZĀLI. L. Bercher. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1955, part 1. pp. 53-91. An extract from the "Iḥyā' ᶜulūm al-dīn."

SOURCES OF ISLAMIC LAW — A NEW APPROACH. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh. *Islamic Quarterly,* London. December, 1954. pp. 205-211. States that Muslim lawyers used seven sources besides the four known as *uṣūl.*

THE SYRIAN LAW OF PERSONAL STATUS. J. N. D. Anderson. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London. 1955, part 1. pp. 34-49. Analyses the law of September 17, 1953 and compares it with similar laws in other Arab countries and with the Sharīᶜah.

## IV. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE INDONESIAN ARABS. Justus M. Van Der Kroef. *Civilisations,* Brussels. 1955, part 1. pp. 15-24. The Arabs, like the Chinese, hold themselves apart from the government, fear assimilation, and hope to carry on as useful citizens.

THE ISLAMIC STATE. *The Islamic Literature,* Lahore. January, 1955. Whole Issue. Consists of articles by Pakistani scholars on the principles, aims and ideals of statehood in Islam.

KASHMIR TODAY. The Right Honorable Lord Birdwood. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1955. pp. 245-257. A thorough appraisal with a brief historical note.

PAKISTANI POWER POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION. *The Round Table,* London. December, 1955. pp. 74-77. Shows how pressure groups delay and frustrate serious efforts to create a stable, constitutional government.

THE TAHREER PROVINCE. G. Neville-Bagot. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. July, 1955. pp. 23-25. Describes the development of the "Liberation" province, ultimately designed to accommodate a million people in 216 villages designed for agricultural workers.

## V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE ASWAN HIGH DAM. Jamīl al Sabban. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. December, 1955. pp. 383-389. A complete description with statistics of this enterprise.

THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE IN AFGHANISTAN. Marcel Schwob. *U.N. Review,* New York. July, 1955. pp. 25-27. Tells of U.N. help for developing economic and mineral resources.

FACTS AND FIGURES. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. November, 1955. pp. 351-362. Covers transportation in the Middle East.

FRENCH UNION, 1954. J. H. Gilmer. *Civilisations,* Brussels. 1955, part 3. pp. 424-436. Includes a survey of economic conditions in North Africa, with statistics handling employment, land tenure, housing, and public works.

THE HAZARAS OF CENTRAL AFGHANISTAN. Wilfred Thesiger. *The Geographical Journal,* London. September, 1955. pp. 312-319. A well-illustrated account, with map, of the life and surroundings of a race of Mongol extraction but Muslim religion.

Landschaft und mensch in Binnendelta des unterer Tigris. Eugen Wirth. *Mitteilungen der Geog. Gesellschaft in Hamburg.* 1955. pp. 1-70. The article surveys the little-known marshland of the lower Tigris. Good illustrations and an English summary.

Light on the Litani. *Al-Kulliyah,* Beirut. December, 1955. pp. 5-12. Charts, map and description of this important Lebanese project.

Mise en valeur du centre de la Tunisie. L. Bugeat. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1955, part 1. pp. 33-52. A discussion of conditions in a section which is rapidly losing its natural resources.

The new Babylon. Desmond Stewart and John Haylock. *The Twentieth Century,* London. November, 1955. pp. 434-442. Deals with marriage in Iraq.

La nouvelle fonction des universités d'Égypte. Saᶜad al-Dīn. *Civilisations,* Brussels. 1955, part 3. pp. 345-352. Although Al-Azhar, founded in 971, is still conservative, secular universities offer broad courses in study and research and are forums of free thought and expression.

On slavery in Alalakh. I. Mendelsohn. *Israel Exploration,* Jerusalem. 1955, part 2. pp. 65-72. Based on study of the cuneiform tablets from North Syria, the article deals with various aspects of society.

Oil and social change in the Middle East. *The Economist,* London. July 2, 1955. A 16 page insert. Describes the uses made of oil revenues and the social and economic results on the people—especially the new middle class.

Pamir, borne frontière. B. Nikitine. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1955, part 1. pp. 5-10. Tells of improvements in living conditions under the Russian régime.

La politesse bédouine dans les campagnes du Nord de la Tunisie. P. Dornier. *IBLA,* Tunis. 1955, part 1. pp. 93-126. Deals with marriage preparations, the wedding day, etc.

Regaining a valley. *Al-Kulliyah,* Beirut. Summer, 1955. pp. 17-22. Gives photographs, charts and description of the Ghab reclamation project in Syria.

Social change in the Gezira scheme. G. M. Culwick. *Civilisations,* Brussels, 1955, part 2. 173-182. Surveys the economic improvements brought to the area through the Government's plan.

The virgin and idle lands of Western Siberia and Northern Kazakhistan. W. A. Douglas Jackson. *The Geographical Review,* New York. January, 1956. pp. 1-19. An appraisal of the possibilities for making the area into a grain and wheat bearing section to surpass even the Ukraine.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Bandung Conference. Derrick Sington. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1955. pp. 231-244. An analysis of the Conference Communiqué, which showed surprising unanimity in the decisions of the twenty-nine participating countries.

Facts versus Pacts. M. Perlmann. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. December, 1955. pp. 373-382. A report on Russian arms to Egypt and their implications.

Reflections on the Sudan and Nigeria. H. G. Farrant. *World Dominion,* London. November-December, 1955. pp. 365-368. Sketches conditions facing the new Government and expresses the hope that the rulers will respect tribal beliefs and practices.

Russes et Musulmans en Asie Centrale. A. Bennigsen. *Civilisations* Brussels. 1955, part I. pp. 1-14. A Russian principle is that Muslim culture is equal to theirs; but they are working insidiously to stamp out Islam and are having considerable success with the younger generation.

The Russian occupation of Beirut, 1772-1786. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1955. pp. 275-286. Shows how Russian activity, though aimed at Constantinople, opened the way for Western penetration of the Middle East and for the downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

Sultans and settlers. Wayland Young. *The Twentieth Century,* London. November, 1955. pp. 443-452. A survey of French North African affairs.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

A day of hope in Iran. W. McE. Miller. *World Dominion,* London. November-December, 1955. pp. 345-348. The Presbyterian Mission has outlined a five year program for evangelism in the area.

Indonesia, a study in harmony of religious relationships. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. September, 1955. pp. 18-21. Describes Muslim-Christian relations.

The social gospel in Tunis. Pierre Dornier. *World Mission,* New York Fall, 1955. pp. 328-342. Describes planned work in a village named Thibar, near Carthage, where the White Fathers train Arabs in agriculture and animal industry as well as in secular and religious education.

A survey of the year 1955. *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1956. pp. 3-85. Once again North African and Near Eastern unrest, particularly the ever-pressing refugee problem, are to the fore, but encouraging glimpses are still to be found in educational and medical activities.

Wonder hospital in Shiraz. William Persen. *Al-Kulliyah,* Beirut. November, 1955. pp. 8-11. Tells of the work of the Iran Foundation.